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Mirroring Ghanaian society through slice-of-life radio advertisements

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B.A; MPhil.; MRes.

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy

Centre for Research in Education and Educational Technology

The Open University

UK

August 2013

Declaration

I confirm that this thesis is my original work and the use of material from other sources has been fully acknowledged. This thesis has not been submitted to the Open University or to any other institution for any other qualification.

Dedication

In loving memory of my mum

(1952 – 2008)

Acknowledgement

I am indebted to my supervisors, Professor Joan Swann and Dr. Philip Seargeant for 'squeezing' the best out of me. You witnessed my tears and my joy. I do appreciate all your guidance and criticisms. I am grateful to Professor Guy Cook who supervised my Masters dissertation and the initial stages of this research. You inspired me to start this journey.

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To my mum who passed away, I have already dedicated this work to you. You knew I could make it this far. I appreciate the kind thoughts, encouraging words and immense support from my father, siblings and in-laws in Ghana.

I modify the popular saying for my husband, Yaw, 'behind every successful woman, there is a man'. You encouraged me to do this and I am grateful for it. Together with my children David and Jemima, you stood by me when I thought I could not push any further, your love kept me sane. Above all, I am grateful to God for making all this possible.

Abstract

This thesis explores radio advertising in Ghana, focusing on the characteristics of a genre that is often termed 'slice-of-life' and that is popular with advertising producers. Slice-of-life adverts seek to represent a version of real life: specifically, the social reality of the target audience for the advert. I discuss how this represents a challenge to producers given a number of constraints, particularly the very brief duration of the mini-dramas that form the core of slice-of-life adverts and that last for just 10-60 seconds. I adopt the notion of 'designed indexicality' as a major analytical concept, arguing that this is a key strategy in designing a persuasive text. Producers, according to this view, deliberately harness culturally-salient indexical resources in the design of adverts, conveying meanings pertaining to the everyday lives of the advertised product's target audience, and that are readily and quickly interpretable by the audience.

In analysing slice-of-life radio advertising I draw on an adapted, expanded form of a 'multi-perspectived' discourse analysis. This combines an analysis of advertising texts with an analysis of advertising producers' accounts of their practice, observations of the production process and discussion with focus groups who represent the target audience for the adverts, meeting in a context that reflects habitual listening practices. The study therefore goes beyond the 'textualist' approaches that, until recently, have dominated applied linguistic research on advertising.

I argue that the study addresses certain gaps in the literature, particularly with respect to the research context (an African country), the research focus (slice-of-life radio advertising) and the expanded multi-perspectived discourse analytical approach. I discuss a number of implications of the study for research on advertising discourse within applied linguistics and related fields, and also argue that the study points to the need for greater dialogue between applied linguists as analysts and advertising practitioners.

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1 Introduction

1.1 *Rationale for the study: why slice-of-life radio adverts?*

This thesis explores radio advertising in Ghana, with a specific focus on the characteristics of 'slice-of-life' radio adverts that have proved popular with advertising producers. It focuses on the sociolinguistic and semiotic processes that underpin the production and reception of these adverts within the temporal and aural constraints of radio as a medium. This research was initiated based on my passion to investigate the discourse of advertising in an African context and the academic need to consider radio advertising in this context, on which there has been a limited focus in applied linguistics.

Applied linguistics is the main field I draw on in this study, following Simpson's (2011:1) position that this 'connects knowledge about language to decision-making in the real world' (see also Cook, 2010). The 'applied' stance allows for the application of different strands of linguistics to other disciplines. In this study, a particular focus is on sociolinguistics and its relationship with advertising discourse.

The study is intended to contribute to advertising research in applied linguistics, including sociolinguistics, by filling certain gaps identified in the current literature, particularly with respect to the study of 'slice-of-life' in advertising; the study of advertising in an African context; the focus on radio as a medium; and the adoption of a methodological approach that goes beyond text analysis.

'Slice-of-life' as an advertising strategy has not been addressed in key applied linguistic studies on advertising discourse such as Leech (1966) and Cook (1992/2001); or in more recent research on advertising discourse (see discussion

in Chapter 2). Maynard's (1997) study of the characteristics of slice-of-life adverts in Japan remains a novelty within the field. His findings show an adaptation of the American slice-of-life format to conform to the Japanese context through modification of structure and language in advertising texts. Considering the aim of slice-of-life adverts to persuade through representations of real life, further exploration of the underlying sociolinguistic and semiotic practices at play within this strategy would enrich applied linguistic research on advertising.

In the applied linguistics study of advertising discourse, the context of Africa, and Ghana in particular, has been relatively neglected. Important studies have been carried out in South Africa, (Kamwangamalu, 2008); Kenya, (Mutonya, 2008); Tanzania and Kenya, (Higgins, 2009); Nigeria, (Abdulkadir, 1997 & 2000); Rwanda (Rosendal, 2009); Ghana (Hmensa, 2009 & 2010¹) and Congo D.R. (Kasanga, 2010 & 2012). This is a small number compared to that of studies carried out for example in North American and European contexts (see also §2.5). Considering the complex multilingual situation in most African countries (Myers-Scotton, 1988, 1993 & 2000; §2.6), a focus on language use in adverts in such contexts is much needed.

Many earlier advertising discourse studies have focussed on print or TV as data rather than radio (though see Abdulkadir (1997 & 2000) and Haladewicz-Grezelak (2010)). Such media provide major sources of data because developed countries rely a lot on TV and print media for their advertising campaigns. However, in most African countries, considered as developing countries, radio is one of the media if not the main medium for advertising campaigns. It is cheap,

¹ Publication drawn from the initial stages of this research

easily accessible, and portable. The Internet has enabled radio to transcend space as it crosses physical boundaries. The case of radio in Ghana is discussed in §1.3 to give an overview of the context under review.

In applied linguistic research on advertising, in Africa and other contexts, few studies have gone beyond textualism as I discuss later in §2.2. Indeed, none of the African studies considered have explored advertising beyond the advertising text itself except Higgins' (2009) inclusion of the audiences' interpretations of language choice in her East African case study and Kasanga's (2010) incorporation of the views of shop owners in his study of Congolese print adverts and shop signs. I do not include Abdulkadir's attempt to include audience perspectives as this was not clearly outlined as part of his methodology: it was presented as a reflection (§2.4).

The focus on the microanalysis of an advertising text (as in Maynard's (1997) study referred to above) reflects the dominant approach to advertising studies within applied linguistics. In this study I respond to Piller's (2006) call for research that also includes a focus on the production and reception of texts. I adapt Cook *et al*'s (2009) 'multi-perspectived' approach, bringing together textual analysis with the views of producers and target audiences for the adverts, and observation of production processes - discussed further in Chapters 2 and 3. The focus is on the meaning-making resources utilised in Ghanaian radio advertising and how these are designed and interpreted.

The theoretical positioning of advertisements as deliberately designed texts which are constructed for persuasive purposes has not been explored in terms of how various elements are assembled to approximate real life in a particular medium. A particular focus on language in bi- and multilingual advertising has

been on the symbolic role of language choice within the frameworks of language display (Eastman and Stein, 1993), ethnocultural stereotypes (Haarman, 1989) and linguistic fetishism² (Kelly-Holmes, 2000 & 2005). There is a need for a further exploration of the sociolinguistic processes that underpin participants' (i.e., producers' and audiences') metalinguistic and metacultural awareness of the idea of slice-of-life, and how this is achieved within the aural and temporal constraints of radio advertising.

1.2 Research aims and questions

My initial interest was to study the nature of radio adverts in Ghana, including their construction and reception, and this is what informed my approach to advertising discourse as I discuss in §2.2 and §3.2. As is typical of an exploratory study, during the course of my research, my focus narrowed to slice-of-life advertising as this emerged as the dominant focus of my interactions with advertising producers (§3.4.1).

The study has an over-arching research aim: to investigate the characteristics of 'slice-of-life' radio adverts in Ghana, an African context, including processes of production and reception of such adverts. Following my identification of slice-of-life adverts as a research focus, I distinguished four more specific research questions:

1. How do producers account for the selection and production of slice-of-life adverts?
2. How is 'slice-of-life' co-constructed during the production process, by participants involved in this process?

² Detailed discussion in §2.5

3. How may the analysis of advertising texts add to the understanding of slice-of-life advertising?
4. How do the target listening audience respond to such adverts?

In addition, the study addresses a methodological question:

5. What may this focus on slice-of-life advertisements from complementary perspectives (producer, production process, advertising text, audience) offer to the study of advertising discourse in applied linguistics?

In the next section, I present an overview of radio usage and coverage in contemporary Ghana to situate the present study.

1.3 History of radio and contemporary radio audience and coverage in Ghana³

The first radio station in Ghana was established in 1935 in the then Gold Coast to broadcast British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) programmes. Later transmission was extended to other key areas such as Kumasi, Koforidua, Sekondi and Cape Coast. The current Ghana Broadcasting Corporation (GBC), formerly Gold Coast Broadcasting System, was established in 1954⁴. Radio broadcasting in Ghana is therefore over 75 years old. The radio broadcasting network was state-run till the 1992 Constitution made provision for the liberalisation of the airwaves. The first privatised FM radio station was established

³ Parts of this section have been published in Hmensa (2010)

⁴ <http://www.gbcghana.com/aboutus/index.html>

in 1996 by the University of Ghana. Currently, there are over a hundred radio stations in the country with about 20% of these located in the capital, Accra.

As mentioned in §1.1, radio advertising is a neglected research area. This may be explained by the widespread presence and popularity of print, television and digital media in other parts of the world such as North America, Europe and Australia. However, radio in Africa has much more impact than the other media. A TV set is not a household necessity but a radio is. Currently, the number of radio receivers per 1000 people is 221.2 whilst the number of television sets is 87 per 1000⁵. Advert creators (for both global and local brands) therefore choose to broadcast many adverts via radio. It is a two-way affair in that Ghanaian radio stations also derive about 50% of their revenue from adverts and sponsorship fees (see Kafewo 2006). The status of radio as the 'dominant mass-medium in Africa . . . with the widest geographical reach and the highest audiences compared with TV, newspapers and other ICTs' (Myers, 2008:8). It has been confirmed in reports such as Balancing Act 2008; BBC WST, 2006; RIA, 2005 (Myers, *ibid*: 8).

The impact and pervasiveness of radio in Africa have been acknowledged as providing a link between Africa and the rest of the globe (Fardon and Furniss, 2000:2). Fardon and Furniss (*ibid.*) recount their experiences of the impact of radio in Cameroun, which is similar to the Ghanaian scenario where radio is the dominant mass medium permeating both rural and urban contexts. Fardon and Furniss' account of the extent of knowledge held by a Cameroonian farmer, who introduced topics ranging from Pakistani politics to London traffic jams to Manchester United Football Club, confirms the impact of radio in rural Africa,

⁵ <http://www.pressreference.com/Fa-Gu/Ghana.html>

reaching the average village dweller. Radio is a main source of information (see Mohochi, 2003:88) in Ghana as in Cameroun. For example, all the previous coup d'états in Ghana were announced on the radio. Since the 1992 constitution was established, there has been an increase in the number of private FM stations in the country and radio is now a major site of heated political and social discussions.

Radio has wider audience coverage in developing countries such as Ghana since not all can afford a television set. My informal observation when carrying out this research suggests that more time is spent listening to radio than watching TV. This is mainly attributable to the lifestyle of the average Ghanaian, who listens to the radio to, from and at work as well as at home. The advance in mobile phone technology with inbuilt radio has resulted in a rising listening audience. As at August 2012, the mobile voice subscriber base was 24,438,983⁶ equivalent to 98% of the Ghanaian population. The actual percentage is likely to be lower, given the possibility of multiple subscriptions by the same individual. Nevertheless, this figure suggests that mobiles have contributed to an increase in radio ownership and access.

Ghanaians across social backgrounds listen to the radio. Most, if not all, households in Ghana have radio sets. Ghanaian listeners can access the radio in their own vehicles, public transport (such as buses and taxis), offices, markets, shopping malls, and from wayside and table top sellers amongst others. Spitulnik's (2000:158) study provides similar evidence from Zambia. Radios, she suggests, 'mediate social spaces and . . . create auditory presences in a vast range of contexts'. Unlike developed countries where regulations on noise pollution may

⁶ <http://www.nca.org.gh/40/105/Market-Share-Statistics.html>

limit the public use of radio, in African contexts as in Ghana, people do not have much choice over the control of a blaring radio in a nearby shop, market, or other public places. Radio is, however, usually popular. Instances are reported where people have opted to wait for buses and taxis working with radio sets rather than to board those without radio sets, especially on long journeys.

As mentioned above, the pervasiveness and popularity of radio in Ghana influenced my selection of radio as a research site. In Chapter 3 I discuss my selection of three different stations reflecting some of the range of contemporary radio broadcasting.

1.4 Chapter plan

This thesis has been structured into the following chapters: Chapter 1 has provided some background information, giving the rationale for the study and outlining the research questions.

Chapter 2 is a review of the literature on advertising discourse, within the broader context of media research studies. I review approaches to advertising that have focussed separately on advertising texts, production processes, and audience responses and set out the value of a broader 'multi-perspectived discourse analytic approach' which I adopt in this study. I also consider the concept of slice-of-life and the role of language choice in advertising. Chapter 3 focuses on methodology, examining the methods of data collection and analysis adopted in the study which are in line with the multi-perspectived discourse analytic approach.

Chapters 4-6 focus on data analysis. Chapter 4 covers production. I present an analysis of two complementary data sets: producers' accounts of the

production process and two case studies of radio advertising processes. In combination, these address research questions 1 and 2 (§1.2). Chapter 5 provides a textual analysis of a sample of radio advertising texts, addressing research question 3. I draw on the concept of 'designed indexicality' identified on the basis of my interviews and observations, discussed in Chapter 4. Chapter 6 addresses research question 4 providing an analysis of the target listening audiences' account of their perceptions of radio adverts and how 'indexical' elements in these adverts are identified and interpreted.

Chapter 7 provides a conclusion, reviewing the overall aim of the study and summarising the main findings, and how these address my first four research questions. In addition, I reflect on the methodology adopted to answer research question 5. Finally, I discuss the implications of this study of advertising discourse within applied linguistics and related disciplines, limitations encountered, and the potential for future research.

In the next chapter, I focus on a review of literature to discuss previous advertising research approaches, and the idea of slice-of-life within advertising, with particular focus on the use of language for persuasive purposes.

2 Literature review

2.1 *Approaches to advertising discourse*

In this section, I give an overview of the current literature on advertising discourse; particularly, I examine methodological approaches to the analysis of adverts and provide the context for the selected approach for this study. An overview of the literature indicates that there are four main approaches to the study of advertising discourse. First, there are studies of advertising texts which are particularly prominent within applied linguistics that focus on the intended effects of the advertising texts; second, there are studies which focus on the actual effects of the adverts; third, there are studies of the production of the advertising text; and fourth there are a small number of studies that assume what has been termed a multi-perspectived approach. I present the first three strands in the ensuing subsection (§2.2.1) and discuss the multi-perspectived discourse analytic approach in §2.2.2 and I then go on to discuss how it is applied in this study in the next chapter (§3.2).

2.1.1 Textualism, production and reception approaches

Various studies have been conducted into the intended persuasive effects of adverts by focusing on the advertising *texts* in order to examine how persuasion is achieved. This has been termed a 'textualist' approach (Richardson, 1998:221). Such analysis of texts has been carried out within applied linguistics with a focus on the language choice, rhetorical style and linguistic content of adverts (e.g. Leech, 1966; Geis, 1982; Haarman, 1989; Myers 1994 & 1998; Tanaka 1994; Cheshire and Moser 1994; Cook, 1992/2001; Friedrich, 2002; Kelly-Holmes, 2000

& 2005; Chen, 2006; Lee, 2006 & 2010; Krishnasamy, 2007; Kelly-Holmes and Atkinson, 2007; Baumgardner, 2008; McCormick and Agnihotri, 2009; Haladewicz-Grzelak, 2010; Agnihotri and McCormick, 2010; Kuppens, 2010). In all these cases, the underlying issues have been the persuasive strategies of the advertising text and how verbal and visual forms have been used for these purposes. The persuasive effects of adverts are analysed in terms of how they attempt to or do not address the audiences' social reality (Williamson, 1978/1983/2002; Cook, 1992/2001; Kelly-Holmes, 2005). Classic studies of advertising within applied linguistics such as Leech (1966) and Cook (1992/2001) depended on an examination of grammatical and literary forms to explore the assumed effects of the print and television advertising text. For instance, in his linguistic study of British and American print and television advertisements, Leech developed a case for the study of the language of advertising and its use of stylistic devices based on texts alone. Similarly, Cook (1992/2001), writing from a literary perspective on the discourse of advertising, further developed the study of advertising discourse to assess its assumed effects based on the advertising texts only. The persuasive effects identified in both studies are, arguably, *assumed* effects of the advertising texts. 'Assumed effects' here refers to persuasive effects derived from a textual analysis of the advertising texts alone, without examination of the audience who respond to them.

Whereas the textualist approach examines the assumed effects of advertising texts, reception studies attempt to assess their actual effects (see Staiger, 2005; Morley, 1992). Reception studies focus on the audience with the stance that 'since media readers are plural, readings are likewise plural' (Richardson, 1998:221). The actual effects of audience reception of general media

texts have been well researched (see Staiger, 2005; Morley, 1992). Staiger (*ibid.*:4) suggests that 'reception studies matters [sic] for our individual and our social and political lives'. Her extensive review of film and television media reception studies indicates the popularity of this area to various researchers spanning across disciplines and over decades. However, the focus on actual effects in advertising has been researched predominantly using experimental designs from psychological and marketing perspectives (see e.g., Dwivedy *et al*, 2009; Lavack *et al*, 2008; Gupta and Gould, 2007). In applied linguistics, to some extent, the view of the target audience has been considered in the use of dual approaches (advertising text and actual audience effects) in the following studies: Haarman (1989); Kelly, H. (1995); Reynolds (2004); Chen (2006); Hornikx *et al* (2007) and de Bres (2010); but otherwise the study of actual effects of persuasive strategies in advertising texts are not as well-established as the textual study of assumed effects. By "actual effects", is meant the reported effects drawn from audience claims.

Although there has been some focus on actual effects as mentioned in the studies above, slice-of-life adverts have not been the focus of these studies to date. However, the issue of language choice has been a focus for exploring how audiences' social realities are portrayed for persuasive effects. For example, Haarman (1989) examines Japanese television adverts and includes the viewers' perspectives in his data. His findings suggest that foreign languages in Japanese adverts are used for symbolic purposes and not as a reflection of the bilingual/multilingual realities of their audience. Haarman's inclusion of the audiences' views brings out certain discrepancies between assumed and actual effects of these adverts. Likewise, Kelly, H. (1995) adopts a similar dual approach

in her study of German financial adverts. Her findings indicate a mismatch between the advertisers' intended message and their target audiences' interpretations. In all these studies, audience responses aided in strengthening any claims about effects.

The production of adverts has been much less adequately explored in media research with a relatively small number of studies to date (for example, Miller, 1997; Moeran, 1996; Hackley, 2003; Mazzarella, 2003; Lien, 2003; Kelly, A. *et al.* 2005). A similar gap exists in research on advertising within applied linguistics. Some researchers consider it as 'impracticable to establish the origin of a particular media item, because of the complexity of sources and production processes' (Bell, 1992:339); other attempts were not considered adequate as producers' responses 'lacked specificity' (Reynolds, 2004:344). Martin's (2006) study of French advertising included interviews with producers: her study remains a novelty for studies on globalisation and English in advertising.

Given this lack of literature on production process in advertising, in order to incorporate the perspectives of producers and production practices, I draw on McCormick's (2010) study of the production of local South African television soaps in which she focused on production so as to explore the motivations that inform the design of media texts. For McCormick, the producers' perspective was important in her examination of the current language policies for broadcasting in South Africa and the interplay with its multilingual reality. She used observation and interviews with TV drama producers to explore the production of episodes in the selected dramas. Her observation was of a writers' meeting, screening, the discussion of casting and the rehearsal and filming session of one episode of the

South African drama *Rhythm City*. In addition, she observed the rehearsal and filming of an episode of *Insidingo*, another drama series.

McCormick's observation data revealed that there are insights to be gained into motivations for choices made during the production process, especially on language choice, which can inform our analyses of the media texts. For example, her observation of the *Insidingo* series showed that the script, originally in English, was not translated to reflect conversational code-switching typical of the social reality of the characters. Rather, translation was done to show situational code-switching and the rest was left at the discretion of the actors for each character. Code-switching is broadly defined here as the 'use of two or more linguistic varieties in the same conversation' (Myers-Scotton, 1992:165). The producers' actions suggest that the construction of social reality in advertisements for economic considerations (to reach out to their mass audience) may override the need to follow language policy guidelines set out by the South African Broadcasting Corporation. Although McCormick's study is not about adverts, her findings suggest that similar insights may occur in studying the production of slice-of-life adverts. McCormick's finding would not have emerged from a textualist or reception approach alone.

So far in this section, I have examined the textualist approach to the analysis of advertising discourse and how this identifies assumed effects of advertising texts. I also discussed the use of reception studies to attempt to assess the actual effects of the adverts. Finally, I discussed the smaller number of studies of production of advertising texts, and a related study of the production of

media soaps, and outlined this approach's interest in the exploration of production practices.

While studies have provided insights into different aspects of advertising (production, advertising text, reception), there are fewer studies of advertising discourse that seek to integrate these different aspects in order to gain a more comprehensive understanding. The present study attempts to address this gap. As the research questions (§1.2) for this study indicate, it considers slice-of-life advertising not only from the characteristics of the advertising text, but also producers' accounts of their practice, the production process and audience views. The design is therefore a combination of all the approaches discussed so far.

In the next subsection, I examine antecedents to this study that have attempted a 'multi-perspectived' discourse analytic approach.

2.1.2 A multi-perspectived discourse analytic approach

Studies that adopt multiple analytical perspectives are few in applied linguistics research on media discourse (although see for example food labelling, Cook, 2010; television drama, Richardson, 2010; print adverts, Reynolds, 2004; TV and print adverts, Hsu, 2008; news talk, Cotter, 2010). Such studies are concerned to explore the 'process and practices' that occur 'behind the scenes' (Cotter, 2010:29). Cotter states:

Text-level analyses, including those incorporating aspects of audience involvement or interaction, have been the province of most research to date. Process and production issues have yet to be considered more fully. In that realm, a methodology that includes ethnographic or community-situated research may well be the next area for discourse analysts and linguists to develop, with the prospect

of new and exciting insights into media discourse and its linguistic and cultural dimensions. (Cotter, 2001:430)

Cotter's proposal is not limited to news media research: a similar approach may be taken to advertising, particularly to explore the producers' accounts and production processes. In relation to multilingualism in advertising, Piller (2006:277) advocates further research 'into 'the processes of the production and reception of multilingual and intercultural advertising and marketing.'

Both proposals suggest the need for a broader approach to advertising discourse, as used in Cook's work (see e.g. Cook, 2001 & 2010; Cook *et al.* 2009 and Cook & O'Halloran, 1999). Cook (2009:152) argues that applied linguists need to consider a 'multi-perspectived discourse analytic methodology' which he identifies as an approach 'which integrates textual analysis with investigation of sender and receiver perceptions' (Cook *et al.*, 2009:151). Cook represents the concerns of such a discourse analytic approach as a communication triangle which is made up of the text, the producer and the audience. As exemplified in Figure. 2.1 below, each of the points of the communication triangle represents an aspect of discourse:

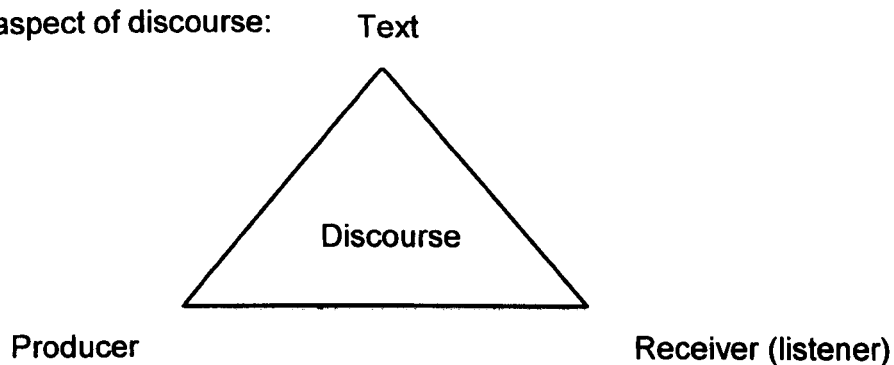


Fig. 2.1 Cook's communication triangle

Cook posits that such a 'triangular' view of media discourse can be achieved if all three perspectives are incorporated in a study. Discourse in this sense incorporates the context which constitutes both the text's internal and external focus — in this sense it is 'multi-perspectived'. I use 'text external' here in the same way as Cook (2001:4) to refer to contextual features including 'co-text', 'paralinguistic forms', 'other texts' (intertext), 'the physical situation or setting' and the 'socio-cultural situation'. Whereas co-text and paralinguistic forms are part of an advertising text (both aural and written); other texts, settings and socio-cultural information are not. There is no mention of the production processes, which is addressed in this study.

In following this multi-perspectived approach, an understanding of discourse with a sociolinguistic focus as discussed by e.g. Blommaert (2005) is required, as this incorporates both text and context within its conception of discourse (*ibid.*:236). Discourse analysis, as I use the term here, goes beyond the textual level, thereby focussing 'primarily on the meaning constructed and interpreted as language is used in particular social contexts' (Bhatia *et al.*, 2008). The notion of discourse as 'language in context' (Blommaert and Jie, 2010:7; Cook, 2001:5) allows the incorporation of the role of participants (producer and audience) in advertising discourse. As the review of work in the field so far shows, there is a need to adopt such an approach to get a fuller understanding of advertising discourse. For example, there is a need to examine processes underlying the production of the final products (texts) which cannot be derived from either a textual or reception approach. Such a combined approach remains a novelty in the literature on advertising discourse within applied linguistics.

In this section, I have explored various approaches to the study of advertising and suggested there is a need for more work that combines multiple perspectives in the analysis of advertising discourse. In Chapter 3 I will explain in detail how an adapted multi-perspectived discourse analytic approach is used in this study. Before this, however, I look in the next section at how the idea of 'slice-of-life' has been reviewed as a persuasive strategy in advertising studies. In doing so, I situate the contribution of this study within work in that field.

2.2 Advertising and the idea of 'slice-of-life'

In this section, I review studies on the idea of slice-of-life in advertising research and the particular focus on language choice. The review examines such work in line with the primary interest of this study which is to explore slice-of-life radio adverts as persuasive texts.

Adverts designed as mini-dramas with real life depiction are referred to as 'slice-of-life' (Ogilvy, 1995; Maynard, 1997). From a practitioners' view, Ogilvy (1995) explains slice-of-life as related to TV commercials as follows:

In these commercials one actor argues with another about the merits of a product, in a setting which roughly approximates real life. In the end, the doubter is converted – your toothpaste really does give children healthier teeth. These playlets have been successful in case after case. Copywriters detest them because most of them are so corny – and they have been in such wide use for such a long time. But some agencies have succeeded in producing slices which are not only effective at the cash register but realistic and charming

(Ogilvy, 1995:105 emphasis mine)

The idea of 'approximating real life' is intertwined with the 'reason why' approach (Meyers, 1997) where problems are created or put forward, with the product then acting as a solution. Although practitioners (e.g. Ogilvy, 1983/1995) refer to such adverts as 'playlets', from a linguistic perspective, Geis (1982:149) uses the term 'minidramas' and explains that these are 'commercials in which the characters appear in naturalistic settings.' Ogilvy's view of slice-of-life adverts as approximations of real life indicates a link between the constructed and the everyday 'real' life of the targeted audience. Slice-of-life adverts are intended to persuade the targeted audience because they mirror practices from the audience's social milieu. As Maynard (1997:136) explains, this is achieved through 'plot development that presents a conflict or a question resolved by "product as an answer" or "product to the rescue" strategies'. Maynard explored this in a structural analysis of slice-of-life designs in Japanese television adverts and suggests that this strategy is a kind of 'playlet' and 'an elaborated form of problem-solution message'. He argues that the storytelling technique used in the designs accounts for 'commonplace situations' and 'typical people' thereby constructing familiar social realities through talk and characterisation for persuasive purposes.

Indeed, advertising studies suggest that verisimilitude is better achieved in this approach than in any other, as it has a high persuasive factor, and therefore it is economically valuable (Moriarty, 1986:81; Keown *et al*, 1989). The relevance of slice-of-life designs for persuasive intent has been assessed in a study of general advertising practices of five northern European countries in which slice-of-life was identified as one of the most common creative approaches used in all the countries (see Keown *et al*, 1989).

Adverts with realistic portrayals appear to be more persuasive than other types of format in print (Warlaumont, 1998; Shanahan and Hopkins, 2007), in TV (Taylor and Stern, 1997) and radio (Abdulkadir, 1997; 2000). General advertising studies, particularly those from social marketing, have considered the representation of reality and its effectiveness as a persuasive strategy in various different contexts and domains: in public service versus commercial adverts (Shanahan and Hopkins, 2007); in traditional versus modern portrayals (Whipple and Courtney, 1984; Hamilton *et al.* 1982:38) and in the portrayal of minority groups such as Asian Americans (Taylor and Stern, 1997). For example, Shanahan and Hopkins (2007), in a study of 4 public service print advertisements, compared the use of real victims to that of actor portrayals. Their findings suggest that real victims are more persuasive than actor portrayals. It is worth noting that public service adverts are non-profit, and consumer expectations do differ from that of commercial advertisements. What is considered as 'real' and 'persuasive' may also be variable depending on the medium and the kind of product being advertised and to what purpose.

Often in commercial advertising the portrayal of particular social or ethnic groups conforms to stereotypes. For example, Taylor and Stern's (1997) study of the portrayal of the Asian Americans through a content analysis of approximately 1300 television advertisements revealed that Asian Americans were represented in stereotypical roles, depicted more in business work settings than in family domains. Taylor and Stern's findings suggest a possible misrepresentation of minority groups in society by advertising producers. Similarly, Chavez *et al.*'s (2012) findings reveal that the representation of the social lives of Latinos in Spanish language television commercials depicts them as middle class compared

to Latino representation in mainstream television advertising in the USA. Chavez *et al.* acknowledge the need for audience response research to determine their interpretations of the values depicted in the adverts. It is possible that the target audience for these adverts do not share the perceptions of analysts.

The depiction of social reality in advertising is the focus of current advertising studies. A recent edited volume on advertising research (Hestroni, 2012) is dedicated to the theme 'advertising and reality'. In this volume, Hopkins (2012) takes a philosophical stance that social reality in advertising research lies predominantly in the audiences' perception of advertising and their view of the constructed versus the 'real' world (Hopkins, 2012). He argues that the narratives we encounter through news media, marketing and our real lives have blurred the representation of reality in advertising. He cites the controversial Benetton adverts where for example war, racial issues, illness and death were portrayed for branding purposes. Hopkins shows how war and famine have been portrayed and reproduced as a marketing resource. He argues further that the 'truth' in advertising lies in the match of the 'ads narrative to the narrative worlds of our fantasies' (Hopkins, 2012:25). Citing advertising executive, Jerry Goodis, (see Nelson, 1983:10), Hopkins writes that 'advertising doesn't mirror how people are acting but how they are dreaming'. In that regard, adverts are aspirations and do not necessarily depict reality. However he concedes that what counts as realistic or unrealistic depends on the interpretations of the consumer (Hopkins, 2012).

This may be compared with Williamson's (1978/1983/2002:102) more critical contention that 'we are placed in reconstructed and false relationships to real phenomena. We misrepresent our relation to nature, and we avoid our real

situation in time'. Williamson argues that the constructions of 'natural' phenomena in advertisements are unrealistic representations, as they do not tackle the 'real issues' in society. Adverts are 'obscure and avoid the real issues of society' primarily because they are 'lifted out of our physical reality and absorbed into a closed system of symbols, a substitute for reality and real emotions' (*ibid.*). Williamson's position on adverts and social reality is derived from an analysis of advertising texts. Production processes, producers' accounts and audience interpretations on advertising and the construction of social reality for persuasive purposes are yet to be explored.

2.3 *Mini-dramas in advertising and the African context*

Slice-of-life with particular focus on the African context has so far not attracted great attention. Most studies on real life representations in advertising have focused on Western advertising. The examination of practices in African advertising is rare in the literature with the exception of Hmensa (2010) and Abdulkadir (1997 & 2000).

In his work on Hausa radio advertisements from a popular culture paradigm, Abdulkadir (1997:107-108) argues that Hausa adverts from a particular producer, Bashir, are seen as attractive and popular because of his use of slice-of-life for persuasive purposes. He argues further that Bashir's use of stereotypical characters typical of the Hausa culture contribute to the quick recognisability of the constructed dialogues. The use of conversations in such enacted situations with stereotypical characters, he argues, is advantageous for the portrayal of social reality:

It is a mode that is close to the reality of language use: in every day speech the use people make of language is predominantly for the purposes of conversation. Secondly, coupled with the appropriate choice of characters and content, it helps to properly situate language use in a cultural context, while at the same time rendering choices regarding content easier to make for the artist, and thirdly it makes the processing of the advertisements easier for the audience.

(Abdulkadir, 1997:111)

Abdulkadir focuses on adverts produced by a single producer, examining his use of two characters typical of the Hausa culture: a 'malam', or teacher who can be either a religious leader or charlatan with supernatural powers; and a fluid character named 'Manu' who has versatile roles (at times depicted as a merchant, small scale trader or country bumpkin). Abdulkadir's analysis of Bashir's characters and their conversational patterns portray typical traits of a malam. The findings show that the use of familiar characterisation and related language practices typical of the Hausa and Muslim culture, and reference to contemporaneous events, are appealing to the target audience. However the focus is on strategies used by just the one producer and just one of Nigeria's numerous ethnic groups. Moreover, it is largely a textual study. Although he presents some informal audience reactions, these are not well defined as part of his methodology, but rather as reactions from people who heard him play the adverts and aired their reactions:

Between 1991, when I began recording Bashir's advertisements on cassette tapes from the radio, and 1997 I have on a number of occasions played the tapes to native speaker audiences (friends of mine), either in my house (both in Nigeria and in London) or in my car (in Nigeria) and the reactions were many and varied

(Abdulkadir, *ibid.*: 206)

Since there is a relative lack of studies on radio adverts from an African context, a consideration of studies of radio drama is worthwhile. Radio drama studies may provide insights into slice-of-life advertising because of a number of similarities between the two genres. As earlier discussed (§2.3), slice-of-life designs can be seen as *playlets* or *mini-dramas* (Ogilvy, 1995; Geis, 1982) and they are constructed to approximate real life interactions. Likewise, radio drama uses verisimilitude to reflect the audiences' social reality for entertainment and social awareness purposes (see for e.g. Martins, 2003, on Nigeria, and Ligaga, 2005, on Kenya); however, they have a longer duration and fewer temporal constraints compared to advertisements. This distinction is noted in Ogilvy and Maynard's reference to such adverts as mini-dramas and playlets — therefore miniature forms.

Martins explains the drama he studied as follows:

fictional constructions and re-constructions of familiar real life situations in which the tension of an immediate crisis – and its consequences or resolution – presents a dramatic, enacted storyline. (2003:95)

Using episodes from *Rainbow City* a Nigerian participatory radio drama for development, Martins explores how 'theatre, dialogue and social discourse' are merged to bridge fiction and social reality. Martins' findings indicate that characterisation, language and setting are constructed to approximate aspects of the general Nigerian society. Sensitive aspects of the Nigerian context such as ethnic and religious realities are however avoided.

Martins' study reveals the possibility of achieving verisimilitude by means of the representation of certain elements of social reality but not necessarily all of it. In

that regard, aspects of constructed social reality need to be examined to identify how verisimilitude is achieved within the temporal constraints peculiar to advertising, i.e. the fact that they are 'compressed storytelling' forms (Cook, 2001:3).

Some studies of slice-of-life in other geographical and cultural contexts may also inform research in Africa. For instance, Maynard's (1997) study referred to above shows how a slice-of-life strategy is liable to adaptation in relation to the socio-cultural context of use. His findings from Japanese television adverts show a local adaptation of the slice-of-life format (see §1.1, Maynard *ibid.*:131-132). Although Maynard's study focuses on mini-dramas, and verisimilitude within these dramas, his analysis does not include a range of elements of drama such as character, plot, situation and accompanying language choices and practices. He focuses solely on inter-character dialogue. Thus both studies of slice-of-life adverts discussed above limit the analysis of real life patterns to constructed talk as a resource for portraying social reality in TV and radio advertisements (See Geis, 1982; Maynard, 1997).

Taking the position that slice-of-life advertising depicts an approximation of real life problems with the marketed products as solutions, Geis (1982) examines how characterisation is constructed by focusing on the dialogue of television adverts. His findings suggest that talk in the adverts analysed is 'not the sort of thing one would ever say spontaneously' (Geis, *ibid.*:159). He uses a Pampers TV advert with two pregnant women: one a first time mother and the other an experienced one. The experienced mother guides the first-time mother in her choice of nappies based on an open-ended question from the latter: 'could I ask

you something?' (*ibid*:156), which the other readily agrees to. According to Geis, this type of request and response would not normally occur in real life talk between strangers. He provides a further example of talk he regards as unrealistic between characters in an Amway commercial which is built around a class reunion concept where a male and female character use different registers in their talk, one a business register and the other casual speech. Geis considers this 'unnatural' in depicting a chat between old school mates who are renewing their bonds (p.159). He argues that the setting of this talk is not a context where such register shifts would occur. Geis thus draws attention to the difficulty in incorporating natural talk into commercial texts. His position appears to rule out the possibility of finding dialogues in advertisements that are very similar to everyday conversations. It is possible that, there will be varying degrees in the extent to which adverts mirror social reality, and that this may be related to the temporal constraints within which the adverts are constructed. This is an issue I will be investigating in this study.

There are still several issues to explore with regard to slice-of-life advertisements, including how they are designed to link with real life practices, particularly within the temporal constraints imposed by the genre and the medium. To address some of these issues, I focus on how the idea of slice-of-life is constructed in the design of adverts, the complexities in its production in the aural mode, and the interpretation of this strategy by the target audience. None of the studies of slice-of-life advertising reviewed in this sub-section incorporates producers' accounts or production processes, or how slice-of-life adverts are interpreted by the target audience.

In considering how audiences' interpretations of media texts have come to be theorised, Richardson (2010) observes that audiences are usually positioned (by researchers and critics) to interpret characters in dramatic dialogues mimetically, as the people they relate to in real life. Richardson refers, for instance, to Chatman's (1978:118) view of character interpretation. He states:

The same principle operates with new acquaintances; we read between the lines, so to speak; we form hypotheses on the basis of what we know and see; we try to figure them out, predict their actions, and so on.

Chatman's account of interpretation positions the audience as active listeners or readers, deriving meaning from the associational values attached to elements of dramatic texts. In that regard, audience interpretations of adverts would be drawn from the audience's socio-cultural contexts and largely examined against their social reality as has been suggested in previous textual studies of advertising (§2.2.1). There is a need for a greater focus on the target audience for slice-of-life adverts to examine how they actually interpret the adverts.

To summarise, there is a gap in researching slice-of-life advertising in the African context and particularly, in the inclusion of the production process and audiences' interpretations. Although Martins' (2003) and Abdulkadir's (1997) studies consider the Nigerian case of using aspects of social reality within mini-dramas, verisimilitude is still subject to audience interpretations as discussed in Richardson (2010) and Chatman (1978). Such interpretations would determine, for instance, the extent to which slice-of-life dramas were interpreted mimetically or, more analytically, as constructs. In this study, I will be examining how representations of reality in slice-of-life adverts are achieved, and how these are interpreted by the audience. In the multilingual context of Ghana the selection of

particular languages to be used in adverts is also relevant to the study of slice-of-life. To explore this issue, in the next section, I review studies within applied linguistics that focus on language choice in advertising.

2.4 Language choice, and the idea of slice-of-life

Examinations of language choice are a major focus for socially-oriented linguistic studies of advertising, including those that investigate the representation of reality in adverts (see for example, Geis, 1982; Maynard, 1997). The contemporary interests of sociolinguistics (§1.1 & §2.2.1) include language choice in monolingual and multilingual contexts and the values attached to the linguistic choices made in adverts as in other contexts of use. Multilingual communication in advertising is defined as the 'appearance of a number of languages or voices in a market-discourse situation' (Kelly-Holmes, 2005:10). 'Market-discourse' researchers have theorised that messages are communicated via codes and are interpreted by a mass audience or a specific target group (Leiss, *et. al.* 1990: 291). Martin (2006:13) citing Barthes suggests that adverts offer 'a *linguistic* (textual) message, a *coded iconic* (cultural or symbolic) and a *non-coded iconic* (literal) message' and that these messages are designed to be simultaneously received when viewing adverts. In that sense, selecting languages or language varieties is complex as varying interpretations may occur especially when communicating to a mass audience.

The complexity of language choice has sustained the interest of applied linguists in investigating processes of language choice for persuasive purposes within the public domain. Particularly, there has been a focus on the role of English and its socio-pragmatic function in contemporary advertising studies, e.g., Piller

(2001); Friedrich (2002) and Lee (2006). Moreover, country or area-specific studies are ever increasing, for example, Japan (Haarman, 1989); New Zealand (Bell, 1992 & 1990); Germany (Piller, 2001); Mexico (Friedrich, 2002); India (Bhatt, 2003; Bhatia and Ritchie, 2004; Krishnasamy, 2007); Russia (Ustinova and Bhatia, 2005); South Korea (Lee, 2006); Spain (Atkinson and Kelly-Holmes, 2006); United States (Callow and McDonald, 2005); Thailand (Huebner, 2006); Taiwan (Chen, 2006; Hsu, 2008); China (Gao, 2005); Europe (Gerritsen *et al.* 2007; Kelly-Holmes, 2005); France (Martin, 2006 & 1998); Mexico (Baumgarder, 2008); South Africa, (Kamwangamalu, 2008); Tanzania and Kenya (Higgins, 2009); Congo D.R. (Kasanga, 2010 & 2012) and Spain (García Vizcaino, 2011). All these have focused predominantly on print or television advertising designs. I give a summary of just a selection of these studies that are most interesting to this research to show their theorization of language choice as strategic in market discourse. Particularly, language choices are discussed with a particular focus on the symbolic values attached to them.

Sociolinguistic/semiotic approaches have been used in addressing, particularly, the role of English in bi/multilingual adverts. It has been argued through the examination of the symbolic values attached to particular languages that languages convey local or global identities (as exemplified in the country based studies earlier listed). The bilingual practice of code-switching has largely been explored in relation to the symbolic values of the languages used in diverse contexts (e.g. Cheshire & Moser, 1994; Haarman, 1989).

Specific languages symbolise various values in different contexts. So, for example, in many contexts English symbolises a sense of modernity or internationalism

because of its association with modern Western economies such as the US, or with its role as a global lingua franca (Lee, 2006; Gao, 2005; Piller, 2001).

Lee's findings in her qualitative analysis of Korean television adverts suggest that English-Korean code-switching portrays the modern identity of contemporary Korean bilinguals. His analyses show that the use of English or hybridised varieties in adverts indexes modern, young, innovative and liberal identities whereas Korean-only adverts portray traditional, older, more conventional identities. Although Lee argues that particular identities are portrayed for economically driven purposes, he concedes that there is a need to consider targeted audiences' interpretations of language use. Lee's position is echoed by Gao (2005) who also suggests that future research needs to ascertain the associational values drawn from the use of English-Chinese code-switching. Friedrich (2002) identifies associational values derived from the use of English in Brazilian adverts. Friedrich's analysis shows that English is used because of its positive associations such as being perceived as 'cute' (see Friedrich, 2002) in these contexts. Likewise in Russia and Taiwan, English is used for the attractive values it holds (Ustinova and Bhatia, 2005; Hsu, 2008). In all these studies, the persuasiveness of the adverts lies in the positive associations drawn from the languages used.

English can be portrayed as a local practice given the way that it is currently used and appropriated around the world. Moreover, the idea of slice-of-life in adverts requires a focus on both global and local processes because of the possibility of both 'universal and sometimes local appeal' (Cook 2010:297) as identified in Piller's work on German adverts as well as Lee's Korean study (2006).

The reference to English as the 'voice of global and local modernity' (Higgins, 2009:124) shows its ambivalent position particularly in postcolonial contexts, of which Ghana is no exception. In Tanzania and Kenya, Higgins' findings suggest that producers use 'localised', 'hybridised' or even 'illegitimate' varieties in order to draw on their appeal as 'the language of the streets and the language of everyday life' (ibid.:146). She argues that the use of the language of the streets in media legitimises the 'illegitimate' varieties, as she shows in the case of Sheng. 'Sheng' is an informal variety which is a mix of Swahili and English. Although Higgins' argument seems plausible, the actual intent of producers may not primarily have to do with legitimisation - rather this may be the side effect of an attempt to portray the language of everyday life for persuasive purposes.

The studies discussed above seem to make certain assumptions about advertising producers' beliefs about style in relation to their awareness of language choices and the associations of such choices. There are three things to note from these studies. First, English is positioned as a valuable language in those contexts and much is not known about the other languages used as these were not explored. Second, the actual effects on and perceptions of the audience, and the intentions of producers are not known. Third, the motivation for production practices is yet to be revealed to ascertain producers' awareness of the values attached to their choices. Still, Martin's (1998 & 2006) inclusion of French copywriters' views revealed how external factors such as French language policy for advertisers (the Toubon law⁷) affects their production of advertising texts with English.

⁷ The 1994 language legislation which limits the use of foreign languages in the French media.

Some studies of the symbolic role of English in 'foreign language' contexts have been carried out with reference to similar frameworks: language display (Eastman and Stein, 1993) and linguistic fetish (Kelly-Holmes, 2000 & 2005). Eastman and Stein (1993) explain the notion of language display as follows:

a language-use strategy whereby members of one group lay claims to attributes associated with another, conveying messages of social, professional, and ethnic identity. (ibid.:187)

They argue that this strategy involves the representation of the 'symbolic rather than structural or semantic expression' (ibid.). Eastman and Stein illustrate this practice with use of *new*, found in 'new mirage' car brand — which is interpreted by the Japanese as *cosmopolitan*.

Drawing on this notion of 'language display', as well as 'ethnocultural stereotypes' (Haarman, 1989) and 'Marxist fetishism', Kelly-Holmes (2000) coins the term 'linguistic fetish' to refer to scenarios where language is used not for its utility value or other advertising functions such as 'persuasion or hyperbole' (ibid.:67) but for symbolic purposes. She writes that such language choices are not reflective of the everyday sociolinguistic context in which the advert occurs. They have:

... little to do with 'normal' everyday communication in that particular language or in that particular sociolinguistic context ...

(Kelly-Holmes 2005: 22)

She derives the notion of linguistic fetishism from Marx and Engels' (1959 [1894]:392) concept of fetishization as including 'the capacity of creating [symbolic] value — a value greater than it contains'. Kelly-Holmes extends fetishism to linguistics, specifically within intercultural communication where foreign languages

are used in advertising such that the use value of a foreign phrase becomes 'secondary to its symbolic value' (*ibid.* 2005:23). She (2000:72) illustrates the phenomenon with a billboard advert in the UK for Audi cars which uses the German phrase 'Vorsprung durch Technik' as its strapline. Her analysis shows that the German line is designed not for its communicative value but for the symbolic weight it carries through the fetishization of the car being a German engineered product. Within the linguistic fetish framework, stylistic variation holds symbolic values which are hierarchically higher than their utility value. Through this framework, Kelly-Holmes makes a case for what she calls 'fake multilingualism':

It is one that is primarily determined from an ethnocentric base; *it has little or nothing to do with real life, everyday bi- and multilingual existence; and it has to do with exploiting difference, accentuating and hyperbolizing it against a monolingual norm.* This exploitation of linguistic difference for market-driven purposes results in a highly refined version of 'multilingualism', one that uses specially selected words that are deemed prototypical and even stereotypical in advertising texts

(Kelly-Holmes, 2005:173 emphasis mine)

Fake multilingualism is linked to the use of multilingualism in adverts within monolingual situations. It does not have a direct link with real life but relies mainly on the symbolic value of certain languages without any relevance to the linguistic reality of the audience:

while companies on the one hand seem to be 'speaking people's language', *in reality, everyday lived multilingualism is far too messy to be dealt with in market discourses* [emphasis mine]. (p.179)

As Kelly-Holmes indicates, the notion of fake multilingualism works well in relation to multilingual representations in monolingual media contexts and for commercial purposes. Linguistic fetishism has been attested in work in other European

contexts. García-Vizcaino's (2011) study of code-switching in Spanish airline adverts, for example suggests that foreign language use in the adverts is for symbolic purposes: to 'convey foreignness' and not to convey information. Her findings indicate that language choice is symbolic to show 'foreignness' and to 'Europeanize' the Spanish adverts, at the same time reflecting local Spanish identity.

Considering the complex multilingual situation in Ghana, this study will explore whether language choice in Ghanaian adverts can be understood within the linguistic fetishism framework. English in multilingual advertising in the European context (Kelly-Holmes, 2005) and in some African contexts (Higgins, 2009; Kasanga, 2010) has been argued to act as a symbol of modernity, sophistication and worldliness. However, the motivation for language choice in postcolonial multilingual contexts where the idea of slice-of-life is the main focus may have a different hierarchical positioning of communicative and symbolic values, and this became be a focus for the current research.

To sum up, as applied linguists have not focused on slice-of-life designs in advertising, there remains a gap in the exploration of this advertising strategy. An examination of the construction of characters, plots and settings in slice-of-life advertising is required to shed light on processes underlying the selection of languages and language varieties. The studies discussed above all indicate the key role of English in various advertising contexts with evidence from the analysis of advertising texts which are assumed to produce certain effects (§2.2.1). Producers' motivations for language choices and their target audiences' interpretations still need to be addressed. Additionally, it is seems that English has

so far been considered as symbolic in instances relating to television and print advertising. There remains a gap in the exploration of language use particularly in slice-of-life radio adverts.

The linguistic fetishism framework is applicable in the study of the use of foreign words for symbolic purposes in monolingual contexts and in multilingual contexts where those languages are not used. The situation may well be different in postcolonial African situations where European languages such as English are positioned as official languages and co-exist with several local or indigenous languages (§2.6). In such multilingual contexts individual speakers may use different languages in talk in different settings, and associated linguistic practices such as code-switching are a norm. In such situations, 'language display' or 'linguistic fetish' would not fully account for the linguistic patterns observed in advertising. As I discuss later (§3.4.2) I use what I term 'designed indexicality' to explore the complexities in the communicative functions of languages as well as other resources used in the design of slice-of-life adverts.

Before discussing this in detail in the next chapter, I provide a brief account of the language situation in Ghana in order to give an overview of the multilingual context within which market discourses are located.

2.5 Sociolinguistics and the media in contemporary Ghana

The legacy of colonialism and the existence of diverse ethnic groups have contributed to the multilingual status of all African countries. Most former British colonies use English as an official language and local languages for other domains of use. Similarly, the former French colonies have French as an official language.

The sociolinguistic situation in most African countries is as described by Myers-Scotton (1993):

Who becomes bilingual in Africa? The simple answer is, almost everyone who is mobile, either in a socio-economic or geographical sense. While there are monolinguals in Africa, the typical person speaks at least one language in addition to his/her first language, and persons living in urban areas often speak two or three additional languages. (1993:33)

The complexity of multilingual Africa where countries have an African lingua franca, a European one and ethnically related local languages (Schmied 1991) pertains in Ghana. In West Africa, former British colonies such as Ghana and Nigeria have English as their official language and the indigenous languages for other unofficial domains of use. The language situation in West Africa is more complex in comparison to other regions in Africa. For example Nigeria has about 300 indigenous languages, and Ghana about 80⁸ (last count 79⁹) as against 34 in Kenya and 2 in Zimbabwe (cf. Myers-Scotton 1993a). Prah (2010) reports in his study of multilingualism of Nima, a high density poor neighbourhood in Accra, that none of his respondents were monolingual whereas 69% of them spoke more than 4 languages. His study indicates the high level of socio-cultural mixing and multilingualism in urban Ghana.

In the case of Ghana, as in many other postcolonial contexts, most, if not all, people who have been through formal education have English as a second language. The multilingual situation in Ghana makes language choice in radio

⁸ The exact number of languages varies depending on the source; however, the number is between 79 and 83 languages.

⁹ http://www.ethnologue.com/show_country.asp?name=ghana

advertising design a challenging task. With an adult literacy rate of 72.7%¹⁰, English thrives amongst the local languages. The main local languages with the greatest number of speakers are as follows in descending order: Akan¹¹, 8.3 m; Ewe, 2.25m; Abron, 1.05m and Ga, 0.6m¹². Of these local languages, Akan as an ethnic group has a dominant position forming 47.5% of the population (Ghana Census Report, 2012:34)¹³. Akan 'is indeed spreading as a lingua franca, and more than 50 per cent of the country has some degree of knowledge of it' (Anyidoho & Dakubu, 2008:152). The expansion of Akan as a second language is occurring particularly in urban areas. Anyidoho and Dakubu's findings from a survey of 143 workers in Accra and 108 university students indicate that over 50% of both groups spoke Akan. However, English was the most generally spoken language: 100% of the students and 89% of the workers spoke English. The role of English as the official language used in government, commerce, education, religious and media domains (see Anderson *et al.* 2008) situates its dominant position amongst the other languages of the country (UN Report 2005).

Typical of most postcolonial West African countries, a form of Pidgin is spoken in Ghana. Ghanaian Pidgin English (henceforth GhaPE¹⁴) commonly called 'Pidgin (English)' or 'Broken (English)' is predominantly spoken in Accra and

¹⁰ UN Report, 2005 <http://www.un.org/esa/population/publications/countryprofile/ghana.pdf>

¹¹ I use Akan in the same way as Anyidoho & Dakubu (2008) to include all the other varieties: Twi, Fanti and Bono and their sub forms.

¹² http://www.ethnologue.com/show_country.asp?name=Ghana

¹³ Ghana Census Report, 2012

http://www.statsghana.gov.gh/docfiles/2010phc/Census2010_Summary_report_of_final_results.pdf

¹⁴ As coined by Huber (ibid.)

other major towns in Southern Ghana (see Huber 1999 & 2004:842). Sociolinguistic research has confirmed that GhaPE has the 'lowest esteem' amongst the three West African Pidgin Englishes spoken in Ghana, Nigeria and Sierra Leone (Lothar and Hans-Georg 2007:4) and this accounts for its limited use compared to English and Akan. GhaPE is largely positioned as an in-group language (Dako, 2002a and Huber, 1999 & 2004).

2.5.1 Language in the media in Ghana

Apart from Francophone Africa¹⁵ where French language and culture permeates all domains of language use, in all other African contexts, language choice in broadcasting is complex (Fardon and Furniss 2000:3). Print and broadcast media in Ghana all use English. However, its dominance in relation to the local languages varies according to the media type and target audience. Most print media in Africa use the official languages of the state and the case of Ghana is not different (Hmensa 2009; Schmied, 1991). Within Ghana, as in other African countries, English is established as the language of print (Hmensa 2009). This is not surprising as the latest census results show that 67.1% of the population above 11 years are literate in English¹⁶ of which 45% are literate in both English and a Ghanaian local language (2012:6-7). There are about 70 newspapers and magazines registered in Ghana but none is published in any of the local languages

¹⁵ Due to the French colonial policy of assimilation, French is used in more domains in ex-French colonies than English in ex- British colonies

¹⁶

http://www.statsghana.gov.gh/docfiles/2010phc/Census2010_Summary_report_of_final_results.pdf

(Yankah, 2002). Advertising billboards and government publicity leaflets are also published uniquely in English. The media and language use reflects Prah's (2010:173) view that Africa's 'rich multilinguistic facility' thrives in orality and lacks in literacy. Anderson *et al.* (2008) note that most of the programmes aired on the five major TV stations broadcast in Ghana are in English. Both TV and radio combine official and unofficial languages in their broadcasting to suit their target audiences' communicative competence (see 3.3.3 for details on languages used in the radio stations in this study). English and Akan are the major languages used in radio broadcasting. Adverts placed in each medium are generally perceived to conform to the language practices typical of the media audience.

In this section, I have described the language situation in Ghana and identified the complexity in language choice in relation to market discourse. In the next section, I summarise and conclude the issues discussed in this chapter.

2.6 Summary and conclusion

In this chapter I have reviewed literature on advertising to show the various approaches used in examining advertisements. In doing this I have identified gaps in research on the discourse on advertising, and indicated the methodological orientation of the present study, which I will discuss in further detail in Chapter 3. The review has shown the lack of and need for new studies on radio advertising. It is evident there is a gap in the area of radio advertising in media research, particularly with respect to work on advertising discourse from an applied linguistic perspective. More specifically with respect to methodology, there are still relatively few studies that adopt a multi-perspectived discourse analytic approach to advertising discourse, which includes a focus on production and reception as well

as advertising texts. Within the study of advertising a sustained focus on slice-of-life designs within an African context is, at present, underexplored. In this respect, I have explored research on slice-of-life in advertising studies within applied linguistics and suggested there is a need for more work examining the adoption and use of particular languages in multilingual contexts to achieve verisimilitude for persuasive purposes. Finally I have outlined the nature of the multilingual situation in Ghana, which acts as the context for the research.

In the next chapter, I present the methods of data collection and analysis used for this study in line with the multi-perspectived discourse analytic methodology discussed in §2.2.2.

3 Methodology

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I focus on the research design and research methods adopted in the study. First, I locate the 'multi-perspectived' nature of the research and, within this, my adoption of a broadly qualitative approach to data analysis. Second, I justify the selection of adverts from three contrasting radio stations and, within this sample, my developing interest in, 'slice-of-life adverts'. The focus on 'slice-of-life' was based on a content analysis of adverts from three radio stations, along with producers' reflections on their adverts. Third, I describe the methods used to collect the data and fourth, I explain the data management and analytic procedures. Fifth, I discuss ethical considerations that informed the research.

3.2 A multi-perspectived approach

In order to address my developing interest in slice-of-life adverts, I drew on an adapted version of Cook *et al.*'s 'multi-perspectived discourse analytic methodology' (§2.2.2). This is described as an approach 'which integrates textual analysis with investigation of sender and receiver perceptions' (Cook *et al.*, 2009:151). This approach was valuable as it included different aspects of advertising discourse. Rather than working on the text in isolation the approach incorporates language users, both in production (i.e. producers' reflections on the adverts they produce) and reception (how these adverts are received by their intended audience). In addition to producer and audience perceptions, I was able

to add two further elements to the approach: (1) an initial identification of general (quantitative) patterns in a larger data set to provide a broad understanding of the characteristics of adverts and to inform a more detailed analysis; (2) an observation of the production process of two adverts to gain an understanding of not only the linguistic forms of the advertising text but also motivations for the selection of those forms and how they came to be incorporated (see e.g. Cook, 2008). Observations of production also provided evidence of the roles of different participants in the production process. This adapted and enlarged multi-perspectived discourse analytic approach is in line with the research questions the study sought to answer:

1. How do producers account for the selection and production of slice-of-life adverts?
2. How is 'slice-of-life' co-constructed during the production process, by participants involved in this process?
3. How may the analysis of advertising texts add to the understanding of slice-of-life advertising?
4. How do the target listening audience respond to such adverts?
5. What may this focus on slice-of-life advertisements from complementary perspectives (producer, production process, advertising text, audience) offer to the study of advertising discourse in applied linguistics?

In view of these research questions, the study was characterised as qualitative research, as it focused on understanding how 'people's experiences are

shaped by their subjective and socio-cultural perspective' (Marks and Yardley, 2004:39), in this case in the context of radio advertising in Ghana.

I focused, as much as possible, on carrying out my investigation in 'natural settings'. By 'natural settings' I refer to Gubrium and Holstein's (1997) and Hammersley and Atkinson's (2007) use of 'naturalism' as a tradition of qualitative research where researchers derive an understanding of social reality from participants within their everyday contexts. As I discuss in detail in §3.4, this includes advertising production, focus group interviews carried out in typical listening contexts, recording of the radio adverts from everyday broadcasts and interviews with producers in their everyday work environments. In this regard, the multi-perspectived approach I adapted was in line with an ethnographic approach that 'emphasises the importance of studying at *first-hand* what people do and say in particular contexts' (Hammersley, 2006:4).

Ethnography is typically characterised by the following: a long contact with participants and context, participant observation, open-ended interviews and public or private documentary evidence (Hammersley, 2006:4; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007:3). Similar sources (observations, informal and formal interviews and documents which I discuss in §3.4 and §4.3) were used in this study. However, it is better described as 'loosely ethnographic' as prolonged contact with participants and contexts and full participant observation were not conducted. While contemporary ethnographic fieldwork may last months rather than years (see Hammersley, 2006) my contact with participants for observation was still of relatively short duration (from 16th July, 2010 to 16th August, 2010). My aim was to observe the production of a radio advert and this was achieved within the period.

Moreover, I was conscious of the ephemerality of radio adverts¹⁷ and as I needed to elicit audience perspectives, observation had to cease when broadcasting period was completed. Therefore for the purposes of this study the contact was adequate for the data that was required (more details in §3.4.2).

One key feature of ethnography is the role of the researcher in the attempt to gain an insider perspective on events (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007; Swann *et al.* 2004; Labaree, 2002; Styles, 1979; Merton, 1972). I was not a full participant observer in the observation of the production process. However, as someone living and working in Ghana, and an ardent listener of Ghanaian radio, I did have a general 'insider' awareness of the sociocultural context for radio advertising. The aim of gaining an insider perspective has been argued to have adverse effects on the researchers' objective stance on the data (Merton, 1972). However, having been out of the country and in a research environment for over two years, I was to some extent an 'outsider', slightly distanced from local events. Being an 'insider' cum 'outsider' balanced my position in the field and in collecting and analysing data. In §3.4.2, I discuss the details of my observation of the production process.

Alongside these observations, interview data enabled me to derive a broad picture of radio advertising discourse through a focus on the participants, their perspectives on events, and practices surrounding their choices. Ethnography allows for the use of multiple data sources including quantitative forms of inquiry (see Hammersley, 2006). The identification of general patterns in the type of adverts broadcast was a precursor to establishing a focus on slice-of-life designs. Descriptive statistics were used to identify the patterns of adverts across three

¹⁷ They are usually aired for three months.

Ghanaian radio stations. This formed a partial justification for the focus on the slice-of-life adverts (§3.3.3) and informed subsequent analyses.

In line with ethnographic practice, I sought to maintain a focus on reflexivity in data collection and analyses. I refer to 'reflexivity' here as a researcher's 'self-conscious engagement with the world' (Ball, 1993:33), such that rigour is ensured through the researcher's self-awareness of their engagement in the research site and the potential effect of their presence on data elicitation and subsequent analysis. Reflexivity is an integral aspect of ethnographic research and the researcher's involvement and effect need to be acknowledged and discussed (see Bryman, 2008; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). Therefore in discussing the data collection processes, I reflect on my engagement with the research field and any possible effect on the participants in the context and on data elicited.

3.2.1 Summary

In this section, I have explained how I used an adaptation of Cook's multi-perspectived discourse analytic approach. I have also clarified how ethnographic sources were used in data collection as the most appropriate in relation to an inquiry into slice-of-life radio adverts. In addition, I have presented the role of reflexivity in data collection and subsequent analysis. In the next sections (§3.3 & §3.4), I explain how data was collected.

3.3 Identification of radio stations and quantitative patterns of adverts across these stations

In this section, I explain how I collected a corpus of radio adverts from three contrasting radio stations. I discuss the selection of radio stations, the corpus construction, and the construction of a smaller sub-corpus of 'slice-of-life' adverts.

3.3.1 Selection of radio stations

As mentioned in §1.3, there are over a hundred radio stations in Ghana and about a quarter of these are located in Accra. I needed a selection of radio stations that would give me diversity in terms of target audience. I therefore selected the following three radio stations: Joy FM, Radio Gold and Peace FM. The target audiences of the stations varied from professionals and diplomats to labourers and farmers. I considered the broad audience range for the selected stations ideal for creating a corpus of adverts that would provide a fair representation of radio advertising patterns in contemporary Ghana. In Table 3.1 below, I show the characteristics of the three selected radio stations. The actual names of the radio stations are used as their details are publicly accessible (§3.6).

Table 3.1 Specified characteristics of the 3 radio stations¹⁸

Specified characteristics	Joy FM	Radio Gold	Peace FM
Lifestyle measure (LSM)	5-10	1-10	1-10
Language use in programmes	'99% English' ¹⁹	'60% English, 25% Akan, 10% Ga, 5% Ewe '	'99% Akan'
Language use in adverts	English	English and local language (Akan, Ga or Ewe)	English and local language (Akan)
Target audience	'Male and female professionals, graduates, postgraduates, expatriates & SMEs' ²⁰	'Male and Female professionals, graduates, postgraduates, artisans, traders, fishermen, farmers, labourers, students'	'Male and female professionals, graduates, postgraduates, artisans, traders & SMEs'

¹⁸ Details in table cited from media planning documents accessed at Agency 1.

¹⁹ All quoted texts were cited from media planning documents accessed at Agency 1

²⁰ Small and medium enterprises

The social classification of target audiences in Table 3.1 is based on the 'Lifestyle measure' (LSM) which is a tool used by advertising agency workers (especially media planners and creative team members) in Ghana and elsewhere to segment the market or group their target audience. Most advertising agencies in Ghana classify radio stations using this measure. The classification of the three radio stations under study was taken from a document produced for clients, and these target characteristics were confirmed in interviews with the media planners and creative team members.

The media buying executive of one of the agencies I observed, hereafter referred to as Mark, provided the following contrast in the profile of Joy FM and Peace FM in terms of language and target audiences. Mark commented that Joy FM's Super Morning Show programme was patronised by 'highly educated folks' within the LSM range 5-10. This contrasted with Peace FM's morning talk show 'Kokrokoo' which targets the 'low to high-end market' within LSM 1-10. Both shows therefore shared the same high-end market, but Peace FM also included a wider social range. The categorisation is made according to career/employment and educational background. Media buyers interviewed perceived that the audiences' level of education reflected their income potential since well-paid jobs were seen to be for the highly educated. This does not however mean all those with a lower level of education are poor. As the producers' also confirmed, some business owners, mainly traders, are rich and these listeners are also addressed in the adverts: they are seen to patronise Peace FM or Radio Gold (see also Chapter 4). The above information from the media buyers and the documentary evidence informed my selection of the three radio stations and set out the base for my corpus formation.

3.3.2 Construction of a corpus of radio adverts

My initial data set was a corpus of radio adverts broadcast over a year in 2009/2010. I was informed by a producer (pre-interview discussion with Mark) that radio adverts have a 12 week lifespan on air, and that they are repeated frequently at the beginning of this 12 week-span and then reduced within the last fortnight of the lifespan. To produce a manageable data set, I collected adverts broadcast over a 13-month period: July 2009 – July 2010. I allowed for the 12-week life span of adverts, and to avoid undue repetition in the data set, I collected adverts from every third month: July and October 2009, and January, April and July 2010. A 13-month period was selected because I started my main fieldwork in July 2010. To increase the chances of including the most recently produced adverts, I included July 2010 such that I could get producers to discuss their production processes in relation to these adverts.

In most cases, the collection was made on the first Monday of each month, with the exception of January 2010 where the second Monday was used to make up for missing data from one of the radio stations (Joy FM). The missing data was from the media monitoring agency where I accessed radio recordings. Mondays were selected mainly because new adverts tended to be introduced at the beginning of the week – this therefore made it likely that I would collect all new adverts as they appeared.

A total of 1,943 adverts were collected across the 3 stations. Repeated transmissions of the same advert were deleted from the corpus (so each advert was included only once) giving a final corpus of 676 adverts – see Table 3.2 below.

Table 3.2 Corpus of adverts

Radio station	Adverts broadcast	Unique adverts
Joy FM	833	288
Peace FM	563	208
Radio Gold	547	180
Total	1,943	676

The collection and scrutiny of this corpus allowed me to familiarise myself with the general characteristics of contemporary radio advertising in Ghana. I discuss this immediately below. The identification of broad quantitative patterns in this corpus also informed my selection of a sub-corpus of adverts for detailed qualitative analysis. The compilation of this sub-corpus and the collection and analysis of data from producers and target audiences are discussed in the following sections and analysed in Chapters 4, 5 and 6.

3.3.3 The corpus of adverts

The adverts were analysed using PASW statistics software (SPSS 20) providing frequency counts and percentages of certain characteristics of the adverts. First, product types for the corpus were examined as shown in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3 Product types in adverts across the three radio stations

Product type	Joy FM		Radio Gold		Peace FM	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Banking, investment & insurance	88	30.6	27	15.0	35	16.8
Telecom services	38	13.2	44	24.4	25	12.0
Commercial public services	30	10.4	15	8.3	16	7.7
Public health, safety & awareness	17	5.9	17	9.4	11	5.3
Food	14	4.9	5	2.8	16	7.7
Home appliances, furnishings, etc.	14	4.9	12	6.7	10	4.8
Non-alcoholic drinks	14	4.9	13	7.2	9	4.3
Publications & media	11	3.8	5	2.8	14	6.7
Corporate image	9	3.1	5	2.8	5	2.4
Cosmetics, beauty & toiletries	8	2.8	2	1.1	7	3.4
Pharmacy	7	2.4	11	6.1	24	11.5
Travel, transport & tourism	7	2.4	3	1.7	4	1.9
Business equipment & services	6	2.1	1	.6	4	1.9
Cars & automotive services	6	2.1	2	1.1	5	2.4
Household	6	2.1	7	3.9	6	2.9
Retail stores	6	2.1	4	2.2	4	1.9
Alcoholic drinks	4	1.4	5	2.8	9	4.3
Restaurants & fast food outlets	2	0.7	-	-	3	1.4
Clothing, footwear & accessories	1	0.3	-	-	-	-
Entertainment & leisure	-	-	2	1.1	1	0.5
Total	288	100.0	180	100.0	208	100.0

Table note: Adverts were first coded according to product type to show the diversity of adverts broadcast. 'Product type' categories corresponded to those used in the Cannes Lions International²¹ radio category. Cannes Lions International identifies 21 product types. Of those 20 occurred in the data.

²¹ Cannes festival of creativity is a yearly event where creative professionals worldwide gather to receive awards and recognition of their works.

The frequency count in Table 3.3 indicates the kinds of product categories advertised on the three radio stations. There is a predominance of banking, investment and insurance and telecommunication adverts across all three radio stations. Specifically, Joy FM had more banking, investment and insurance adverts than the other stations. This may be linked to their demographics (their focus on the ‘higher end’ of the market). Similarly Radio Gold recorded more telecom services adverts, while pharmacy adverts were aired more on Peace FM than on the other two stations (forming 11.5% of their total adverts). Overall, the patterns across the three radio stations illustrate the diversity in product types for the diverse target audiences.

The corpus of 676 adverts had different format types: monologue, mini-dramas and song as shown in Table 3.4 below:

Table 3.4 Advert formats

Format	Joy FM		Radio Gold		Peace FM	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Monologue	191	66.4	105	58.3	107	51.5
Mini-drama	88	30.6	72	40.0	97	46.6
Song	9	3.1	3	1.7	4	1.9
Total	288	100.0	180	100.0	208	100.0

Monologues were one-voiced adverts where a single speaker talked directly to the listener. In contrast, mini-dramas used two or more voices interacting between themselves and not directly with the listener. These dramas usually ended with a single speaker ‘voice-over’ addressing the listener (see also below). Song adverts were delivered entirely through song and music.

In scrutinizing the data, I became interested particularly in a category referred to by producers as ‘slice-of-life’. The format for a slice-of-life advert was a

mini-drama and in fact the two categories overlap completely (all mini-dramas portray slice-of-life). While these were not the largest single category as shown in Table 3.4, they occurred frequently in the corpus. Moreover, they were the category of adverts preferred by producers (§3.4.1 & Chapter 4). Mini-dramas were used more widely on Peace FM and Radio Gold (46.6% and 40% respectively) than on Joy FM (30.6%).

Across all the radio stations, mini-dramas occurred more often with voice-over than as a separate form, see Table 3.5.

Table 3.5 Mini-dramas with and without voice-over

Mini-dramas	Joy FM		Radio Gold		Peace FM	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
mini-drama + voice-over	74	84.1	43	59.7	60	61.9
Mini-drama without voice-over	14	15.9	29	40.3	37	38.1
Total	88	100	72	100	97	100

The mini-drama element of the adverts represented slice-of-life, conveying product use information through conversation between speakers around a particular event. Voice-overs delivered factual details and sometimes provided a solution to a problem identified in the dramas. My analysis of slice-of-life in the adverts therefore focuses largely on the mini-drama component (see §2.3.1, Ogilvy, 1995; Maynard, 1997; Geis, 1982).

3.3.4 Characteristics of sub-corpus of slice-of-life adverts

Here, I report on two main characteristics of the slice-of-life adverts: the domains and the languages represented.

3.3.4.1 Domain

‘Domain’ refers to the setting of the adverts, which is associated with particular inter-character relationships, conversations, topics, and language choice. As Table 3.6 shows, there was a clear preference in the adverts for interactions between friends and family, in non-work settings and concerned with everyday occurrences outside of work. A smaller number of adverts were located in workplace settings. These tended to focus on workplace relationships and issues (e.g. an interaction between a boss and employees), rather than interactions between friends at work.

Table 3.6 Domains portrayed in the mini-dramas

Constructed domains	Joy FM		Radio Gold		Peace FM	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Family and friends	75	85.3	58	80.6	89	91.8
Work	13	14.7	14	19.4	8	8.2
Total	88	100	72	100	97	100

3.3.4.2 Language patterns

Here, I focus on the language practices adopted in the mini-dramas. Table 3.7 below indicates the distribution across the three radio stations of mini-dramas using English monolingually, and those using English and local languages. No radio station broadcast mini-dramas entirely in a local language. In this

quantitative analysis I focused only on the occurrence of different languages and did not attempt to distinguish the amount of each language used.

Table 3.7 Language practices in the mini-dramas

Language	Joy FM		Radio Gold		Peace FM	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
English	56	63.6	17	23.6	9	9.3
English+Local language.	32	36.4	55	76.4	88	90.3
Akan	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	88	100.0	72	100.0	97	100.0

The patterns of language use in the mini-dramas show some similarity with producers' characterisations of the three radio stations in terms of their language use (see Table 3.1), which suggested that English was the dominant language on Joy FM, with increasing use of local languages on Radio Gold and a local language used predominantly on Peace FM. Of interest, however, is the use of English along with local languages across all three stations, reflecting the multilingual practice of code-switching as a characteristic of the characters in the mini-dramas. I use code-switching in the broad sense to cover the use of two or more languages at the intra and inter-sentential levels (cf. Myers-Scotton 1993b:181; Heller 1988 see also, §2.5). While this was particularly common on Peace FM and Radio Gold, even Joy FM, with its perceived English-speaking audience, included switching between English and a local language in 36.4% of its mini-drama adverts. Table 3.8 provides more detail on the languages used in such bilingual mini-dramas.

Table 3.8 Languages used in bilingual adverts

Bilingual adverts	Joy FM		Radio Gold		Peace FM	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
English+Akan	20	62.5	40	71.4	87	98.9
English+Pidgin	11	34.4	11	19.6	-	-
English+Ga	-	-	5	9.0	1	1.1
English+Hausa	1	3.1	-	-	-	-
Total	32	100.0	56	100.0	88	100.0

Table 3.8 shows Akan as the most frequently-occurring local language in the mini-dramas. Of the bilingual adverts in the sub-corpus of mini-dramas, Joy FM included 62.5% of adverts combining Akan with English, compared with 98.9% for Peace FM and 71.4% for Radio Gold. Following in second and third positions were adverts combining English with Ghanaian Pidgin English and Ga respectively. Ga was used much more on Radio Gold than the other stations: Radio Gold also used Ga more often in its programmes and adverts because it was targeting a Ga speaking audience. There were a few instances of lexis from other languages such as Chinese, French and Spanish; these are not identified separately in Table 3.8 since they always occurred in conjunction with a local language. So the dominant local language was rather recorded. This quantitative analysis has highlighted the presence of bilingual adverts. In the qualitative analysis of radio adverts (Chapter 5), I look more closely at the use of these languages.

3.3.5 Summary

In this section, I have explained how I began with a large corpus of adverts. From my scrutiny of the corpus, I developed a focus on the mini-dramas which form slice-of-life adverts. Above I have set out the general characteristics of the larger corpus of adverts, including the prevalence of mini-dramas as an advertising

format and the language choices made in these mini-dramas. This forms a context for the more detailed qualitative analysis of the production, textual characteristics and reception of slice-of-life adverts as I discuss below.

In the immediately following section (3.4), I discuss the collection of data for the main qualitative study.

3.4 Data collection for qualitative study

In this section, I explain how I conducted interviews with radio advert producers, observed aspects of the production process, selected advertising texts as data for analysis and conducted focus group interviews with members of the target audiences for the adverts.

3.4.1 Interviews with radio advert producers

In §3.3.3, I explained that the producers' interest formed part of my motivation for the focus on slice-of-life mini-dramas in this study. I began my research with a general interest in radio advertising in Ghana and narrowed the focus to slice-of-life advertising as it emerged as the producers' preferred strategy. Through producers' interviews, I answer my first research question: how do producers account for the selection and production of slice-of-life adverts?

I conducted interviews with creative directors of key advertising agencies in Ghana that produce radio adverts aired on the selected radio stations. I use 'producers' here to refer to members of the creative team or the copywriter or the creative director responsible for the creation of the advertising concept and production of the advert. There were differences in production staff between advertising agencies: some advertising agencies have just a copywriter; others

have a full creative team including the copywriters and a creative director who heads the team.

As part of my fieldwork preparations, I contacted the key advertising agencies in Ghana using telephone contacts from a database from the Advertising Association of Ghana. I focused on the agencies that produced radio adverts (some agencies worked exclusively on print media). Anticipating gate keeping issues typically associated with institutional settings (see Burgess, 1985), I contacted all the advertising agencies with international affiliations and some local ones to increase the number of positive responses received. While most agencies were enthused by the research others were concerned about divulging issues related to their production choices. Overall, however, the responses were more positive than I had anticipated. Although I had set out to interview producers in formal agencies, I was informed at one radio station when I was making enquiries about their data storage for radio adverts that their programme hosts also produced adverts for clients as 'freelance copywriters'. I therefore included three of these freelance copywriters in my interviews. The inclusion of the freelance copywriters widened the scope of the data in two ways. First, the mix of formal and freelance copywriters increased the diversity in production style and goods and services advertised as I came to understand that small scale enterprises preferred the freelance copywriters while the multinational companies preferred the formal advertising agencies. Second, their inclusion widened the scope of the target audience as the freelance copywriters were associated with particular radio stations and in this instance, Peace FM station, which is predominantly Akan based.

In all, 13 interviews were carried out with producers: six with creative directors, four with copywriters working in production teams, and three with freelance copywriters. 11 interviews were conducted in producers' offices. This was primarily to follow the naturalism stance of my research by meeting interviewees in their habitual and preferred environments. Moreover, considering the busy schedule of the producers, arranging for a meeting other than in their preferred environments, would have affected their participation. Two producers were out of office (both were on annual leave) and therefore preferred to meet me in my temporary office at the University of Ghana campus. Both these producers were familiar with the university campus as they were alumni of the university where my temporary office was situated. Moreover, they assured me they were comfortable in this setting when I queried their choice.

I conducted all the interviews. The interviews were semi-structured (see Hammersley, 2006) which gave me some consistency across interviews, while also allowing me to pursue points of interest raised by producers (interview schedule reproduced in Appendix 5). In addition, producers were able to describe their production experiences and clarify their answers thereby presenting a more detailed description of the production process. This could not have been achieved if I had opted for a controlled or structured questions format.

In the interviews, preliminary questions were used to ascertain the producers' educational and work background and experience. Educational background also indicated whether they had formal tuition in advertising or not. The main questions covered four aspects of radio advert production: choices of format, language, voice artistes, and production processes of their latest advert. In terms of production processes, producers' were asked to explain the production

processes for their latest adverts. Before meeting each producer, I asked for their most recent radio advert and used these adverts as a stimulus for the 'production processes' part of the interview. My initial selection of a corpus of adverts produced in 2009 – 2010 broadcast on the three radio stations and representing a range of target audiences (§3.3.1) ensured that all the most recent adverts produced by my interviewees were part of the corpus (see also Table 3.9 below). In all cases producers were able to recall the adverts and provide an account of their production. Interviews were audio recorded and transcribed (§3.5.1) and duration varied from 17 to 84 minutes.

Interviews have the potential to provide a rich source of data (cf. Bryman, 2008; Rubin and Rubin, 2005) although as I have argued earlier (§2.2.2), few studies of advertising use interviews in order to supplement analysis of the adverts themselves. They are however more widely used in applied linguistics (Edley & Litosseliti, 2010), and in line with my adoption of a multi-perspectived approach (§2.2.2 & §3.2), I interviewed producers to provide accounts of radio advert production, including their motivations for decisions taken during the production process. I use 'accounts' in this study to reflect the fact that data from the producer's talk are treated as representing what the producers say they do, which complements my observations of production practices.

Interview data is often argued to be less naturalistic compared to observation data (cf. Bryman, 2008:466). As I mentioned earlier, I tried to address this concern to some extent by eliciting interview data in the producers natural environments where possible. At the beginning of the research, following ethical guidelines (§3.6), I introduced myself to the producers as a student researching on radio advertisements (see Appendix 3 for reproduced participant information

sheet). My position as a student was advantageous as producers' shared their knowledge with me based on their perception of me as a non-practitioner who needed this knowledge. They also responded well to my probing, follow up questions. They were enthused that a PhD researcher and particularly one from a linguistic discipline was interested in their practice. While there are necessarily limitations in interview data (as above, this can only provide accounts of practice) such limitations were to some extent addressed in my complementary use of observational data. The interview data are set out in the qualitative data overview in Table 3.11 (§3.4.5). In the next section, I discuss my observation of the production of two adverts.

3.4.2 Observation of two radio ad productions

To answer the second research question (how is 'slice-of-life' co-constructed during the production process, by participants involved in this process?), I used observation as a data source. This enabled me to explore the gap between the producer and the text which is less considered in applied linguistics. Although interviews can give insights into the motivations and practices of advertising, they may not provide sufficient information about the production process itself and the participants involved. Moreover, what the producers' say needs to be aligned with what they do to confirm their motivation for the choices they make at various stages of production. The focus on production processes forms a key part of the methodological theorisation of discourse as multi-perspectived (§3.2)

All producers that I interviewed consented for me to observe a radio advert production during my fieldwork. However, at the time only two of the producers

had contracts to produce radio adverts. Hence, I had the opportunity to observe two productions: an English language advert for Vista paper; and an Akan language advert for Global Access Money Transfer both of which were eventually broadcast on Peace FM. The Vista paper advert was observed from the initial brainstorming sessions to the final recording phase. However, I only observed the recording phase of the Global Access Money Transfer advert which included the translation, recording and editing process because the producer contacted me when he was about to start the studio recording. In both situations, I made notes of my observations and also audio- recorded my interactions with the production team (see §4.3.1 for details).

Researchers have pointed to the problem of observer intrusion/reactive effects (cf. Bryman, 2008:467) or the observer's paradox (Labov, 1972:61). While I accepted Labov's argument that the observer cannot help but affect what they observe, such observer effects were minimised in the contexts I observed. Observations were carried out in an economically and schedule-driven environment, where the need to meet deadlines and targets appeared to be more pressing than the presence of a researcher.

I also tried to conform to community norms as much as I could (see Feagin, 2004). In the case of the Vista advert production (§4.3) I dressed formally to fit in with the corporate lifestyle of the staff as directed by the creative director. I was present at all brainstorming sessions seated with the creative team around the table in the boardroom which positioned me as a part of the team and not as a researcher in the corner of the room. There was an instance in a brainstorming session when the creative director asked my opinion on an issue. Moreover, the creative team and all other staff considered me a part of their team and kept

updating me about the advert under production during lunch and all other periods of interaction at both a formal and informal level. In such instances, my role as a non-participant observer shifted towards that of a participant observer: I therefore occupied different positions along the non-participant – participant observer continuum. I shadowed the creative director and shared a desk with him throughout the observation period (a period of one month). I left the office only on occasions when he had private interactions with his personal guests. All other formal and informal phone and face-to-face interactions were conducted in my presence. I was therefore able to record all issues that were reported by the other members of the creative team including those related to the production process of the Vista advert.

Naturally occurring situations such as the advert productions I observed are a rich source of data where the researcher is more likely to stumble on new knowledge (Silverman, 2005:120). In addition to complementing the producers' accounts, observations enabled me to learn more about advertising production practices. To my knowledge, there has been no recorded observation of the production process of a radio advertisement (§2.2). The opportunity to observe two advertising productions therefore enhances the novelty of this study. Details of the production process are addressed in §4.3.

As part of my adoption of a multi-perspectived approach, I focused on the analysis of the characteristics of a set of adverts. In the next section, I discuss the selection of these adverts.

3.4.3 Selection of adverts for detailed analyses

This part of the investigation was designed to answer the third research question: how may the analysis of advertising texts add to the understanding of

slice-of-life advertising? I selected advertising texts for textual analysis based on the most recent adverts of the producers I interviewed, which were within the sub-corpus of slice-of-life adverts discussed above and also included the two adverts whose production process I had observed (§3.4.2). The selected adverts are presented in Table 3.9 below.

Table 3.9 Selected advertising texts

Advert name	Product type	Language used	Format	Voices in advert	Voices in mini-drama component	Domain	Advert duration in seconds	Mini-drama duration in seconds	Radio station
1. United Bank of Africa (UBA)	Banking, investment & insurance	English	Mini-drama with voice-over	3	2	Family	60	10	Joy FM
2. UBA	Banking, investment & insurance	Akan with English	Mini-drama with voice-over	3	2	Family	60	10	Peace FM
3. MTN Video calling	Telecom	English with Akan	Mini-drama with voice-over	4	3	Family and friends, work	60	41	Joy FM
4. MTN Video calling	Telecom	Akan with English	Mini-drama with voice-over	4	3	Family and friends, work	60	43	Radio Gold

Advert name	Product type	Language used	Format	Voices in advert	Voices in mini-drama component	Domain	Advert duration in seconds	Mini-drama duration in seconds	Radio station
5. Agricultural Development Bank (ADB)	Banking, investment & insurance	English	Mini-drama with voice-over	3	2	Work	50	20	Joy FM
6. ADB	Banking, investment & insurance	Akan with English	Mini-drama with voice-over	3	2	Work	50	20	Peace FM
7. Yammi Gari Mix	Food	Akan with English	Mini-drama	2	2	Family and friends	60	60	Peace FM
8. Chocho Beauty Soap & Cream	Cosmetic, beauty & toiletries	Akan with English	Mini-drama with song	2	2	Work	60	58	Peace FM
9. Vista	Business equipment & services	English	Mini-drama with voice-over	4	3	Work	45	20	Peace FM

Advert name	Product type	Language used	Format	Voices in advert	Voices in mini-drama component	Domain	Advert duration in seconds	Mini-drama duration in seconds	Radio station
10. Interplast	Home appliances furnishings	Pidgin with English	Mini-drama with voice-over	3	2	Family and friends, work	60	46	Joy FM
11. Global Access	Banking, investment & insurance	Akan with English	Mini-drama with voice-over	3	2	Family and friends, work	60	45	Peace FM
12. MTN Pay-For-Me	Telecom	English with Akan	Mini-drama with voice-over	3	2	Family and friends	60	20	Joy FM
13. MTN Pay-For-Me	Telecom	Akan with English	Mini-drama with voice-over	3	2	Family and friends	60	25	Peace FM
14. Unique Trust (UT)	Banking Investment & insurance	English with Akan	Mini-drama with voice-over	3	2	Family and friends/general	45	20	Radio Gold & Joy FM

The adverts presented in the table are categorised by the advert type, language, format, domain, voices and duration of the whole advert and of the mini-drama. I discuss details of the textual analyses in §3.5.3. In the next section, I consider how focus groups were used to elicit the target audiences' responses to slice-of-life adverts.

3.4.4 Focus group discussions with target audiences

To answer research question four (How do the target listening audience respond to slice-of-life adverts?) I used focus group discussions. Focus group discussion is a common tool for collecting data in audience and market research. Mytton (1999/2007) comments:

Qualitative research in focus groups puts the respondents into a social setting in which the personal influences that operate in social settings are reproduced and can be observed.

Previous studies on audience reception in various media have used focus groups as representations of the mass audience (cf. Morley, 1980; McGuigan, 1992; Schlesinger *et al.*, 1992; Kitzinger, 1994; Livingstone and Lunt, 1994; Fenton *et al.*, 1998; Bryman, 2008). Focus groups have been noted to give a detailed discussion which would not have been achieved in individual interviews (see Markova *et al.*, 2007; Gibbs, 1997; Fontana and Frey, 2005:705). In the Ghanaian research context, focus groups were preferred to questionnaire data (cf. Reynolds 2009; Hsu, 2008; Kelly 1995) due to the listening habits of the radio audience in Ghana (§3.4.4.1 & §6.1.1).

It is argued that focus group data is 'artificial' (Silverman 2001; Potter and Hepburn 2005) which could be seen as threatening the ethnographic orientation of my study. However, in working with focus groups I attempted to reproduce some of the habitual practices of Ghanaian audiences, where listening to the radio is often, a shared practice. I explain this further in the following sections, where I discuss the composition, setting and conduct of the focus groups.

3.4.4.1 Group composition

I carried out 14 focus group discussions as shown in Table 3.10. Two focus groups were conducted for the Yammi Gari Mix advert to correspond to the producers' target group of 'students and everybody'. The table indicates the composition of the groups including how this corresponded to the target audiences of the sample adverts, as this was identified by the producers in interviews.

Table 3.10 Focus group details

Advert	Focus groups	Number of participants	Relationship between participants	Physical setting	Target audience	Duration of discussions in minutes
United Bank of Africa (UBA) English version	FG1	4	Family and friends	Home	Young executives	8.59
Akan version	FG2	4	Work colleagues and family	Retail store	Semi/uneducated business owners	6.47
MTN Video Calling English	FG3	4	Family	Home	Elite and young people	8.31
Agricultural Development Bank (ADB) English version	FG4	4	Family	Home	Elite	8.29
Akan version	FG5	4	Work colleagues and friends	Retail store	Semi-literates and uneducated	9.30
Yammi Gari Mix	FG6	4	Family	Home	Students and everybody	8.45
Akan	FG7	4	Work colleagues and friends	Retail store		9.58
Chocho Cream and Soap Akan	FG8	4	Work colleagues and friends	Retail store	Everybody	7.19
Vista Paper English	FG9	5	Work colleagues	Office	Users of printers, photocopiers, schools, bookshops	25.05
Interplast PVC pipes Pidgin	FG10	6	Work colleagues, friends and family	Construction site	Contractors, technical construction workers and project owners	30.24

Advert	Focus groups	Number of participants	Relationship between participants	Physical setting	Target audience	Duration of discussions in minutes
Global Access Money Transfer Akan	FG11	5	Work colleagues, family and friends	Retail store	People with relatives or friends abroad	32.01
MTN Pay-For-Me Service English version	FG12	5	Work colleagues, family and friends	Office	'Achievers' (CEOs and the elites)	44.12
Akan version	FG13	6	Work colleagues, family and friends	Construction site	Traders, 'survivors' (shop assistants, truck pushers, labourers)	41.17
Unique Trust Financial Service Akan and English	FG 14	5	Work colleagues, family and friends	Retail store	Small Medium Enterprises	30.24

There were 4-6 members in each group and discussion time varied from 7 to 44 minutes. The variation in talk time is explained in the ensuing paragraphs. The availability of the participants at each setting determined the composition of the group.

3.4.4.2 Setting²²

Discussions were conducted amongst group members who knew each other, interacting in their habitual listening environments. In some cases participants had to resume their usual duties (i.e. attending to clients and scheduled tasks) resulting in the shorter sessions. The use of naturally-occurring groups and settings is a modification of traditional focus group research. I made an earlier observation that radio can be seen as a shared experience, in that Ghanaian listeners often listen together in their home or in public spaces and discuss radio programmes as they are being aired. Most retailers and tradesmen have radio sets in their shops, and neighbouring shop workers, wayside sellers, and customers listen voluntarily or involuntarily. Such people may hold discussions about a particular topic or advert on air. The same situation exists in homes, offices and public vehicles. For example, as I sat in a cab on my way to interview a producer, the cab driver had tuned his radio to Peace FM (the local language radio station used in this research). As we both listened, he commented on an advert in which a popular programme host had been used. I ended up having a chat with him about it. The shared listening experience that occurred in the cab is one example of the ubiquitous nature of radio listening which is distinct from that of Western contexts.

²² Parts of this section published in Hmensa (2010)

Discussing with groups of people in settings such as retail shops, homes, offices and construction sites where participants usually listen to radio arguably constitutes a more 'natural' practice than putting participants in a conference room in a hotel or a university campus (see Knodel, 1993 & 1995; Morgan, 1997). Gamson (1992) and Sasson (1995) used a similar approach as they recruited participants and held discussions in their living rooms in order to create some informality in the discussions. In this case the aim was also to make group discussion similar to participants' routine shared listening habits.

3.4.4.3 Conduct of discussions

With regard to the conduct of the discussions, I paid attention to language use, focusing on the participants' language(s) of understanding based on the preferences they expressed to me and preferences evident in the discussion itself (cf. Holstein and Gubrium, 1995:3-4). Participants' language preferences in focus groups (English, Akan or Pidgin) also paralleled the language of the adverts (see Table 3.10).

All the questions were open-ended on pre-identified themes emerging from the producer-interview data and the preliminary analysis of the adverts, (for these themes see Appendix 5).

I observed that in the case of participants in focus groups 1 to 8 (i.e. UBA, MTN Video Calling, ADB, Yammi Gari mix, and Chocho Beauty Cream and Soap adverts), responses were short and the discussions ended in maximum 9.58 minutes. I changed my moderation style for focus groups 9 to 14 (Vista, Global Access, Interplast, MTN Pay-for-Me and Unique Trust adverts). I allowed participants to interact with less moderation: participants discussed most of the

issues I had planned to question. The duration of the focus groups' talk increased from an average of 6.47 minutes to 44.12 minutes.

Focus group discussions were the last set of data collected, completing the multi-perspectived approach sketched out above. In the next section, I present the qualitative data gathered and summarise the data collection methods used.

3.4.5 The data overview

Table 3.11 below is a representation of all the data collected for analysis. I have shown the various sources of data. Particularly, I have noted the duration of the interviews and focus group discussions and the kinds of data collected during observation.

Table 3.11 Data overview

Radio adverts	Interview code	Duration of interviews in minutes	Focus group discussions	Duration of discussions	Observations
Advert 1&2 UBA (English & Akan)	Creative director 1 – CD1	64.55	FG1	15.46	-
			FG2		
Advert 3 MTN Video Calling (English)	Creative director 2 – CD2	20.03	FG3	8.31	-
Advert 4&5 ADB	Creative director 3	45.49	FG4	17.59	-
			FG5		
Advert 6 Yammi Gari (Akan)	Freelance copywriter 4 – FLC4	37.02	FG6a FG6b ²³	18.43	-
Advert 7 Chocho Cream and Soap (Akan)	Freelance copywriter 5 – FLC5	24.02	FG7	7.19	-
-	Copywriter 6 – CW6	31.55	-	-	-

²³ Two focus groups with different social compositions were used for the advert because the producer indicated it was targeted at a general audience.

Radio adverts	Interview code	Duration of interviews in minutes	Focus group discussions	Duration of discussions	Observations
Advert 8 Vista Paper (English)	Copywriter 7 – CW7	17.10	FG8	25.05	Field notes and audio recordings of production process – client request, brainstorming, script writing and editing, selection of voice artistes/actors, studio production/recording, media placement
Advert 9 Interplast PVC Pipes (Pidgin)	Creative director 8 – CD8	84.43	FG9	30.24	-
Advert 19 Global Access Money Transfer (Akan)	Copywriter 9 – CW9	33.48	FG10	32.01	Recorded notes and audio transcripts of production process – as above
Advert 11&12 MTN Pay-For-Me (English & Akan)	Creative director 10 – CD20	26.15	FG11 FG12	85.29	-
Advert 15 Unique Trust (English & Akan)	Copywriter 11 – CW11	53.33	FG13	30.24	-
-	Creative director 12 – CD12	29.20	-	-	-
-	Freelance copywriter 13 – FLC 13	52.27	-	-	-

3.4.6 Summary

Within this section I have explained the data collection methods used in line with the ethnographic orientation of the study. I have given an overview of how each of the sources of data collection (i.e. corpus of advertising texts, interviews, sample advertising texts, observation, and focus groups) was achieved. I explain the data analysis processes in the next section.

3.5 Data analysis

In this section, I show how the qualitative data detailed in the previous table were managed, transcribed and where necessary translated. In addition, I introduce the analytical framework that emerged for the analyses of the different data sets.

3.5.1 Transcription and translation

In recognition of the theoretical positioning of transcription and its effect on data interpretation (see Ochs, 1979; Swann, 2010) transcription decisions were made acknowledging Swann's (2010) perspective that:

Transcriptions necessarily correspond to a researcher's interests and what they see as the analytical potential of their data, as well as their wider beliefs and values. It is in this sense that transcription is said to constitute both a representation and the beginnings of an interpretation of data.

(Swann *ibid.*:163).

as well as Och's view that transcription is 'a selective process reflecting theoretical goals and definitions' (Och, 1979:44). Transcriptions decisions were made with

the view that 'what is on the transcript will influence and constrain what generalisations emerge' (*ibid.*:45).

My interest in analyzing interview and focus group data was on themes that emerged in the discourse. Transcription decisions reflected this, enabling a focus on content (what was said) rather than form (how this was said). Prosodic and interactional features were not transcribed in detail as they might be in a conversation analytic transcription (cf. Dörnyei, 2007), but I did include features that might affect my interpretation of the content. This included a paralinguistic feature such as laughter, which was considered as part of participants' utterances. As an example, laughter was transcribed in the interview with the creative director for the MTN Pay-For-Me advert:

Sample extract 1

109 Afra So the original script was it in English or was it
 110 CD10 The original script was in bastardised English ((Laughter))
 111 Afra ((laughter)) what do you mean by bastardised English (.)

Laughter in the extract above indicated the creative director's humorous use of the phrase 'bastardised English'.

Within the focus group data, general laughter was noted as this seemed to be associated with consensus in viewpoint. Focus group interactions often included overlapping speech. This was transcribed as I identified such instances as an illustration of collaborative interpretation of the adverts in the focus group discussions (details §6.1). Information about the focus group setting was also noted as it indicated the participants' 'natural' listening environment for radio. All these features contributed to the analysis.

The transcription guide adopted is as follows:

3.5.1.1 Transcription guide

(.)	a brief pause within an utterance
(1.0)	a longer, timed pause (time given in seconds)
xxx	unclear speech
[overlapping speech
< >	authorial comments in transcript
(())	non-verbal aspects seen as relevant to an interpretation of the text, such as laughter

Speaking turns are numbered for ease of reference as illustrated in the sample extract above.

Producers are not referred to by name, but by a unique identifier which indicated their job titles and the numbering of the interviews. For example, interview 1 was with a creative director, it was coded as Creative director 1 (CD1), likewise, interview 4 was with a Freelance copywriter (FLC4) and interview 6 with a Copywriter (CW6). Producers' codes are listed in §3.4.5, Table 3.11 (see column on interview codes). Focus group participants are referred to by pseudonym.

Adverts were analysed differently, with a focus both on content and form. Transcription decisions were therefore different. Speech in the mini-dramas reflected actors' interpretations of scripted dialogue. In this case there were no instances of unclear speech or overlaps. However, I transcribed interactional features that formed part of the dialogue, including fillers, exclamations, pragmatic markers, and intonation features that indicated questions. Music with a turn-taking

slot was considered part of the dialogue and was included in transcriptions (see Yammi Gari Mix advert, Appendix 8). Sound effects that accompanied adverts were included in a separate column in the transcript. Each turn was numbered for referencing purposes as in interview and focus group data.

Interviews with producers were carried out entirely in English, however other languages occurred in focus groups and in the adverts themselves. The examples I cite include English, Pidgin and Akan. As a native speaker of Akan, I translated Akan utterances using my native knowledge. However, I sought the perspectives of colleagues (fellow PhD students) who are also native speakers to validate when I required a second opinion. Additionally, a fellow PhD student (expert in Akan) examined all my translations of the advertising texts in Akan language. In some cases, I referred to Dako's (2003) glossary of Ghanaianisms for translation of some words, especially in the textual analysis of advertising texts (§5.1).

In citing adverts in the thesis, I have included the original Akan and Pidgin along with an English translation. In most cases I use free translation (rather than literal/word-for-word) for ease in reading the texts (cf. Swann, 2010). However, where necessary, for explanation purposes, I also provide a literal translation. While it is usually clear whether a speaker is using Akan or English, Pidgin and English are linguistically closer and the distinction is not always clear-cut especially, where speakers use a version that is closer to Standard English.

In the case of focus groups, although I transcribed focus group data in the original language of the speakers, I present only English translated versions of the transcripts in this thesis due to space constraints. As mentioned above, in the focus group data, the analytical focus was on the content of what was said rather

than how this was said. Details of language choice are therefore not drawn on my analysis.

In the following sections, I explain the framework adopted in analyzing the data.

3.5.2 Thematic analysis

As mentioned above, in addressing my research questions I drew partly on a thematic approach, i.e. identifying themes that emerged across the data sets. In the analytical chapters these are addressed separately for each data set; interviews with producers and observation of the production process (Chapter 4), advertising text (Chapter 5) and focus group interactions with target audiences (Chapter 6) with links made across the chapters.

The themes were identified using inductive coding (Boyatzis, 1998), allowing me to 'report the experiences, meanings and the reality of participants' (Braun and Clarke, 2006:81). Themes emerged first from the producers' talk, they were realised in advertising texts and later became evident in the listeners' views. These themes therefore proved to be essential in linking issues emerging within and across the data sets (cf. Chapters 4, 5 and 6).

The first step in identifying themes was to manage the data; I used Atlas-ti software to ensure a uniform coding process as well as to categorise extracts of talk into thematic categories. Atlas-ti made it easy for me to sort related quotations and assess the emerging patterns. I began the process by coding the observations of production and producers' interview data. I then linked the codes together to form larger categories in order to explain thematic patterns of responses (cf. Creswell, 2007). For example, free codes such as *slice-of-life*, *real*, *real life*, *realistic*, and *true-to-life*, were allocated to producers' talk in order to sort the quotations relating to the idea of 'slice-of-life' from which 'realistic stories' (§4.2.1 &

Appendix 10) were discussed. Here 'free codes' refer to semantically linked words which are by extension related to the overall category. Interpretations drawn from these themes are presented in the analyses of interviews, observations, advertising texts and focus group data (Chapters 4-6).

3.5.3 Textual analysis of advertising texts

A major focus of my analysis was on how slice-of-life adverts worked as texts, in the light of the producers' and clients' motivations, constraints on production and the intended effects on listeners. I did not, therefore, approach the text from the perspective of the traditional textual analyst, with no information about the production process or reported intentions of the producer. My identification of slice-of-life as an analytical interest derived partly from the reported preferences of producers for this type of advert. And my analysis of how slice-of-life was realised was necessarily informed by evidence from the producers on the various features or resources used in their constructions of the advertising texts, and by evidence from my observations of how two sample texts were constructed. I considered this as a plausible way of approaching my analysis of advertising texts as highly designed texts (see further below) in which producers make deliberate production choices and are able to reflect on these. The analysis of advertising texts is presented in Chapter 5.

3.5.4 Two over-arching analytical concepts: design and indexicality

In analyzing the data two major concepts emerged as significant: the indexical property of language, in this case how language use (and other semiotic forms) may 'index' aspects of the sociocultural context such as speaker relations

and identities; and the idea of language use (and the use of other semiotic forms) as 'designed' for a particular audience. In this section, I provide a brief history of the notions of *indexicality* and *design* and discuss how these are drawn on in the analysis of the data gathered.

Historically, indexicality was developed from Peirce's notion of semiotic signs developed between 1931 and 1958 (see Peirce, 1992). Peirce distinguished three types of sign: icon, index and symbol (Peirce, 1992). Peirce posits that the icon is a sign which shares a 'resemblance or similarity' with the object it signifies or stands for (Merrell, *ibid.*:31). For instance, a photograph or painting is an icon of the real life entity it represents. On the other hand, an index is a sign that has an imagined causal or natural relationship with the object it stands for. For example, a symptom is an index of a disease, and smoke is an index of fire. With regard to symbol, the relationship between the sign and the signified is a matter of convention. In other words, symbols are interpreted based on social convention (see Merrell, 2001). To illustrate, the British flag is a symbol because it is interpreted as a sign that represents Great Britain. Thus, unlike the index or icon where the relationship between a sign and the signified is a natural cause or similarity and resemblance respectively, the relationship between a symbol and what it signifies is arbitrary. Verbal language is considered a symbolic system because the relationship between linguistic forms and their meanings is primarily arbitrary (Merrell, 2001), though aspects of language may also have an indexical function as discussed below. All three kinds of signs are part of everyday life.

Peirce's notion of signs and their relationships with objects or referents particularly that of the indexical sign, was taken up by later researchers such as Silverstein (1976, 1985) and later Ochs (1990), and indexicality is currently a

foundational concept in sociolinguistics and related areas such as linguistic anthropology and pragmatics. Silverstein's conception of indexicality refers to a relationship between linguistic signs (form) and aspects of meaning drawn from the culture within which the linguistic signs exist. Verbal language (and other semiotic forms) are realised as indexical resources in a number of ways. Silverstein classifies indexicals as either referential or non-referential. Referential indexicals limit the meaning of the linguistic expression in a particular context where references are made to temporally and spatially located events and participants as in the use of *I, you, this, that, there, here*, etcetera. In other words, referential indexicality is a relationship between linguistic signs and 'temporally or spatially located events' (Ochs, 1990:293). Non-referential indexicals (Silverstein's extended use) or 'indirect indexicality' (in Ochs' terms), takes meaning to a different level — 'for example, some sociological domain, such as kinship, sex, rank' (Ochs, *ibid*). In this way, linguistic expressions can index social group membership, e.g. ethnicity, social status. It is this idea of non-referential or indirect indexicality that has been particularly influential in sociolinguistics. For instance, Blommaert (2005:11) illustrates indexicality in interactions where the context determines the interpretation of what is said. He discusses the expression 'sir', which holds both a referential meaning (to 'a male individual') and a non-referential meaning (to 'a particular social status and the role relationships of deference and politeness entailed by this status'). Indexical meaning, he suggests, is that which 'anchors language usage firmly into social and cultural patterns' (*ibid*:11). In this sense, all utterances give information about the speaker, the kind of person s/he is, the mood of the interaction, the formality of the interaction, and so on. Silverstein's conception of non-referential indexicals highlights language use as

culture dependent where pragmatic value is embedded in an indexical token within the context of use (Silverstein, 1976:34). For the purposes of this research, I focus on non-referential indexicals as these are strongly exhibited in the data.

Non-referential indexicals are of interest in both monolingual and bi/multilingual discourse (Duranti, 1997; Mesthrie, 2009; Swann 2009). In multilingual contexts, for instance, language choice may signal a speaker's or participant's associations with particular social groups or kinds of people (educated, local, international, bilingual), particular places or domains (office, bar, home), or events (office meeting, office party). Duranti notes that indexicality is linked to the culture and society within which a language is used: it 'points in the direction of aspects of the sociocultural context' (1997:18). He argues further (*ibid.*:7) that indexicality is possible because of the flexibility of language and its 'ability to reflect on the world including itself.' From a variationist perspective, Eckert (2008: 453) refers to the fluidity of the indexical field within which sociolinguistic variables occur, enabling the repositioning of meaning in everyday interactions. Her example of clothing as a meaning-making resource amongst Palo Alto High School students (Eckert, 2000) also serves as a reminder that indexical fluidity is not limited to verbal language but includes multimodal and material resources. Similarly, Cook (2001:88-89) identifies indexicality in graphology and writing systems. In a discussion of print advertisements, Cook refers to the indexing of formality (of handwriting), of level of intimacy (personal communication) and of cultural associations (Chinese script to represent Far East) in particular written forms. This study draws on evidence of indexicality in spoken (radio) advertising texts: particularly in this case on how meaning in slice-of-life adverts is achieved through the deliberate harnessing of indexical resources, and

producers' awareness of this process. Producers' self-conscious marshalling of indexical resources in the construction of adverts, which are tailored to particular target audiences, suggested the value of an additional, related analytical concept – that of design.

'Design' has different meanings in different areas of linguistics. Most relevant to my research are the work of Bell (1984) on audience design and Kress and van Leeuwen (e.g. 2001) on design as part of the communicative or semiotic process, an idea elaborated particularly in relation to the study of multimodal texts.

Bell (1984) introduced and developed the concept of audience design in his own influential study of radio talk supplemented by a review of a range of sociolinguistic literature. Bell argues that, in speaking, and shifting the way they speak, people are primarily responding to an audience: they 'respond mainly to other persons . . . speakers take most account of hearers in designing talk' (1984:159). Bell also posits a particular relationship between such intra-speaker variation, and variation between ways of speaking in different social groups: a speaker's style is a reflection of such inter-group variation and the social meaning attached to different ways of speaking.

Although the audience for speakers' talk is primarily the person directly addressed – the addressee - Bell posits that talk is at times designed in relation to other participants in the communicative context who may not be addressed directly (he distinguishes auditors, overhearers and eavesdroppers).

Bell's study of radio talk, which underpins his discussion of audience design, focuses on the talk of newsreaders working on three New Zealand radio stations that contrast in terms of their target audience. The study reveals stylistic variations in newsreaders' speech corresponding to the stations' audience type.

Such variations in speech occur even when the speaker (newsreader), setting (studio) and topic remain the same, suggesting that stylistic variation can best be explained by changes in the target audience. While his own study was concerned with the use of particular pronunciation features in a monolingual context, he argues that audience design encompasses any form of variable language use, including monolingual stylistic variation and bilingual language choice and code-switching (see also Bell 2001:141 – 147 & 2006:993). Variation is exhibited at different linguistic levels, from whole language switches to micro forms such as pronoun selection and honorifics (Bell 1984:161).

Bell (1984:162) relates his work on audience design to the social psychological study of 'speech accommodation' (e.g. Giles and Poweland (1975), Giles and Smith (1979) and later Coupland (1981 & 1984)) and these have also been drawn together in the more recent study of 'style' (Coupland, 2007; Eckert and Rickford, 2001). Accommodation refers to the ways in which speakers converge towards or diverge from their interlocutors in interaction and considers also the motivations for such behaviour. In Coupland's (1981) study of a travel agent and her clients, for instance, the travel agent's need to please her clients led her to converge or even 'hyperconverge' towards their speech. In similar situations where persuasion is required, such as advertising discourse or the service industries, speakers are more likely to show 'marked speech accommodation' (Bell's term) towards their audience. Accommodation is however relatively complex and the social meanings of convergence and divergence need to be interpreted in context (e.g. Giles *et al*, 1991).

Although indexicality is not explicitly discussed in all these studies, non-referential indexicality can be seen as the underlying resource for the creation and

interpretation of the social meanings at play in audience design and accommodation. Audience design and accommodation are both concerned with the creation and design of speaker identities in communicative events.

The use of 'design' in this study also links to Kress and van Leeuwen's study of design in multimodal discourse (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2001; Kress 2003). This is particularly suited to the study of radio as a medium involving different modes, including speech, music and sound effects. Kress and van Leeuwen see design as 'the organisation of what is to be articulated into a blueprint for production' (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2001:50). The designer in this case is the orchestrator of the blueprint. In the present study, the script would be the initial blueprint for an advert, amended by various further design decisions during the production process. Kress and van Leeuwen (2001) compare 'design' to the construction of a house, where the blueprint for the house is a guide for the builder. Design, as realised in this context, focuses on 'what is needed now, in this one situation, with this configuration of purposes, aims, audience and with these resources, and given my interests in this situation' (Kress, 2003:49): design is seen as purposeful and needs-driven.

The design of language use involves the selection of linguistic and other resources for meaning-making within a communicative event. While the concept of design emphasises creativity and choice, in most interactions such 'choices' will be made below the level of conscious awareness. In advertising discourse, however, producers exhibit more deliberate and explicit choices, demonstrating a high level of metalinguistic and metacultural awareness in deploying the linguistic and (other) semiotic resources at their disposal. Such awareness can only be made visible when a multi-perspectived approach is adopted.

I discussed above the notions of design and indexicality with particular focus on the communicative deployment of non-referential indexicals. In the analysis to be discussed in chapters 4-6, I take the position that design requires the organisation of macro and micro elements of the advertising text, which is similar to the position of Kress and van Leeuwen (2001). Kress and van Leeuwen's ideas are also useful in that they show a separation of 'design' from 'production', which allows for a focus on the production process of the advertising text and the deliberate harnessing of semiotic resources to convey social meaning. However, there is an overlap between design and implementation phases in the production of advertisements, as I discuss in Chapter 4.

Design (Bell, 1984; Kress and van Leeuwen, 2001) and indexicality (Silverstein, 1976) are properties of any communicative act and present in all forms of language in use. Most importantly for the advertising context in this study is that interaction between the producer and the listener is complex: the Ghanaian advertisements in this study are designed to be an interaction among fictional characters with a focus on the social meanings communicated to the listener of the designed interaction. Moreover, Bell's work refers to a situation in which speakers design their speech as they are speaking: the issue of deliberateness is absent. Style in my research context is not about how an individual speaker works with language in relation to other people who are addressed in the interaction. Instead, it is a matter of often deliberate choices made by producers and the beliefs and levels/types of awareness that inform these selections. Whereas audience design usually refers to routine communicative practices, in this study of advertising, language use may be seen as 'highly designed', with the advertising text explicitly constructed and aimed at appealing to particular listeners. Indexical properties of

language may be deliberately and explicitly drawn on as part of the design, and in acknowledgement of this I have developed the concept of '*designed indexicality*', discussed further in Chapter 4.

3.5.5 Triangulation and validity

The idea of triangulation in research was introduced by Weber *et al.* (1966) primarily as a means of validating research findings (see Bryman, 2008:379). Triangulation is achieved through the use of multiple methods to examine the same phenomenon (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007:183; Yin, 2003). In this study, the multi-perspectived discourse analytic approach, including data from multiple sources, may be seen as a form of triangulation. The multiple aspects of advertising discourse (producer, production process, advertising text, audience) are presented here as independent data sets; however, the analyses are linked and in combination present a relatively holistic view of slice-of-life advertising. The strengths of each method were drawn on and their weaknesses were mitigated through the adoption of other, complementary methods. Observation data, for instance, were used here both as an independent data set and for triangulation purposes as they simultaneously complemented the producers' views and explored the production processes. The quantitative results incorporated earlier also set the scene for my subsequent qualitative analysis and provide a motivation for my focus on slice-of-life adverts, along with producers' accounts (§4.2) and my personal observations (§3.4.2 & 4.3).

3.6 *Ethical considerations*

Throughout this study, I followed the ethical guidelines set out by the British Association for Applied Linguistics (BAAL). Additionally as per institutional research regulations, the study was conducted with approval from The Open University Human Participants and Materials Research Ethics Committee (HPMEC) (see Appendix 1).

Following the ethical guidelines, I adhered to two main principles: informed consent and confidentiality. I gave out participant information sheets (see Appendix 3) providing an overview of the research and asked for consent from all participants. Literate participants read the sheets and I orally translated for those who were not fully literate. All participants gave their consent to participate in the study, and none chose to withdraw. For confidentiality purposes, I have used pseudonyms (focus group participants) or codes (producers) to maintain participants' anonymity during the transcription process, and in citing transcripts in this thesis. Moreover, following data protection guidelines, all data has been kept in a secured location throughout the research process.

3.7 *Summary and conclusion*

In this chapter, I have discussed my use of an adapted multi-perspectived discourse analytic approach for the study of slice-of-life radio advertising, and aligned this with the sources of data used. I have given a detailed overview of the sources of data drawn on to address the research questions identified in §1.2. I have also explained and justified the data management and presentation in transcripts. Finally I have discussed how I developed forms of analysis for the different data sets, and explained my adoption of design and indexicality as overarching analytical concepts. Alongside this discussion, I have explained the role of

reflexivity in all my accounts of data collection, analyses and other related research decisions and any form of bias that could have affected this research (Bryman, 2008:682).

In the following three chapters I present an analysis of the data I collected, beginning in Chapter 4 with an analysis of producers' accounts of their production of their slice-of-life adverts and an analysis of two cases of production processes.

4 Producers' accounts and two case studies of the production process

4.1 Introduction

In Chapter 3, I presented how I adapted a multi-perspectived discourse analytic methodology for the study of 'slice-of-life' radio adverts, bringing together textual analysis of the adverts with analyses of their production and reception. I also explained how the notion of designed indexicality is used as an analytic concept. In this chapter, I begin with a focus on 'slice-of-life' production. I earlier indicated that processes of production are under-studied both from a media studies and applied linguistics perspective and within the African context (§2.2 & §2.3). This study fills the gap identified in answering the following two research questions (§1.2):

1. How do producers account for the idea of 'slice-of-life' in advertising and its conception and production in radio adverts?
2. How is 'slice-of-life' co-constructed during the production process by participants involved in this process?

In analysing both aspects of production I focus on design and indexicality as discussed in §3.5.4 to identify how the producers' use available cultural and linguistic resources in the creation of slice-of-life adverts.

4.1.1 The data

I examine the issue of advertising production using a combination of two data sources. First, I present accounts of radio advertising production from interviews with producers from diverse backgrounds (formal producers and freelance copywriters, see §3.4.1). Views from the 13 producers interviewed were audio recorded and transcribed. Second, I complement producers' accounts of the production process with evidence from observations of the production of two adverts (see also §3.4.2).

The producers' accounts were analysed thematically, with the themes being drawn inductively (§3.5.2 Boyatzis 1998; Braun & Clarke, 2006) from an examination of the two data sets. As discussed earlier (§3.5.2), I used Atlas-ti software to sort and manage the interview data. Free codes such as *slice-of-life*, *real*, *real life*, *realistic*, and *true-to-life*, were allocated to producers' talk in order to identify extracts relating to the idea of 'slice-of-life'. Certain themes recurred in producers' talk about 'slice-of-life' in the adverts, and these are discussed in the sections that follow.

The themes drawn from the producers' accounts represent shared knowledge emanating from the close-knit ties of advertising producers in Ghana. These ties are developed from shared working relationships as new creative personnel are trained by experienced people. Advertising production knowledge and experience are transferred amongst producers as they change job positions and are poached from one agency to another. This close relationship between the producers is evident in the general consensus within the interviews on the idea of 'slice-of-life' and how this is produced.

I refer to the notions of design and indexicality (§3.5.4) to explore the thematic patterns arising from the data. I discuss how slice-of-life adverts are designed by drawing on and sometimes amplifying existing indexical resources. I refer to Duranti's extension of Jakobson's (1960) notion of the metalinguistic function of language or, 'the knowledge that speakers have of their own language.' (Duranti, 1997:200). I also use the corresponding term, metacultural knowledge, here referring to the knowledge participants have of their culture.

4.2 The idea of 'slice-of-life'

The overview of the advertising corpus (§3.3.3, Table 3.5) showed the importance of slice-of-life adverts across all three radio stations. Slice-of-life, as discussed in §2.3, is realised as a designed interaction between at least two characters within a setting that 'roughly approximates real life' (Ogilvy, 1995:105; Maynard, 1997). What is of interest to applied linguists, in this case, is how producers achieve the approximation of real life within a number of production constraints and the possibilities and constraints of radio as a medium. In the following sections, I discuss how the producers account for the idea of 'slice-of-life' with reference to realistic stories, conversations, language use in a multilingual setting, and dramatization.

4.2.1 Realistic stories

To create the idea of slice-of-life, producers resort to realistic stories which are achieved by the use of 'concepts' that are deemed to reflect 'real life'. 'Concept', to the producers, refers to the *story* or *direction* or *idea* of the advert. Producers used the terms 'concepts' and 'stories' interchangeably throughout the

interviews. In this thesis I will use the term 'stories' for uniformity in reference. In their accounts producers suggest that they seek to achieve slice-of-life stories in selecting typical characters and contemporaneous events that index the social practices of their audiences, or practices that will be familiar to their audiences. Such socially-identifiable scenes (cf Bell, 1984:181) act as a quick way of conveying the point of the advert given the temporal constraints within which producers are working.

The issue of temporal constraint is expressed by CD1:

Extract 4.1

P 1: CD1.doc - 1:34 (140:140)

140 CD1 So the challenge for the copywriter and creative director is to tell a compelling story and emphasis is on compelling and to tell a compelling story in five ten seconds (.) wow (.) that is an assignment (.) that is it (.)

CD1's reference to 'five ten seconds' is not an exaggeration. In Table 3.9 (§3.4.3), the mini-drama duration column indicates the drama in the UBA advert was just 10 seconds long. The idea of compressed storytelling has been mentioned by Bell (1992) and Cook (2001), however analyses of radio adverts have not considered the production constraints that result in this practice. The short durations of the mini-dramas are influenced by the client's preferences, motivated by their budget limits as CD1 also discusses:

Extract 4.2

P 1: CD1.doc - 1:57 (116:116)

116 CD1 < . . . > it is cost because clients are always complaining about cost cost try to errr keep the cost down(.)

This is echoed by the other producers and was also observed during the production of the two adverts (§4.3.3.2).

Typical, easily recognisable characters and events selected by producers in the light of these temporal constraints include, in my data, a Ghanaian migrant taxi driver in Amsterdam (Global Access financial advert), an irritated wife refusing a lift (UBA financial advert), selecting a dress in a boutique (MTN Video-calling) and giving directions in the street (Unique Trust financial advert). CW9 shares his account of how he got the idea for the Ghanaian migrant taxi driver in Amsterdam:

Extract 4.3

P 5: CW9.rtf - 5:30 (165:165)

165 CW9 So then I went to mind of the target market and then I thought about it yeah (.) I thought about a lot of Ghanaians who are driving taxis out there so I am like oh yeah let me make this guy a taxi driver that's why he said he has been driving in Amsterdam for the past so so and so years (.) so need to go into the mind of the target market (.) their world you need to enter their world how they live the thing (.) the people can relate to them (.) it is very typical (.)

CW9's account reflects his desire to enter 'into the mind' of his audience to produce a story they can relate to. In order to represent the social practices of Ghanaian migrants in Amsterdam, he had to rely on his metacultural knowledge of the real life equivalents. In the lines 'I thought a lot about < . . >' and 'Let me make this guy< . . >' CW9 shows careful deliberateness in his selections, which is consistent with Kress and van Leeuwen's (2001) notion of design (§3.5.4).

CD1 illustrates how he generated the story of an irritated wife for the UBA advert on a car loan scheme (§5.3 & Appendix 8):

Extract 4.4

P 1: CD1.doc - 1:35 (172:172)

172 CD1 < . . . > now (.) so what happened was I was looking for ideas (.) and ermmm I tried to to to depict some kind of realism where a husband and a wife are having an argument over car acquisition so it hit me that hey this is a good story to tell because a lot of young executives are married and when I am driving to work (.) I see a lot of cars broken down and I can look at the faces of the ladies in the car and I say [sic] they are boiling hot (.) so we pick concepts from everywhere (.) this concept for instance was just one of the things I had seen driving to work (.) and it just hit me that hey this is a good insight (.) It's a true story (.) tell it in a compelling way and people will connect to it then and then take action on that

CD1 refers to typical characters from his observations of life in urban Ghana (CD1 works in Accra and that was where he was interviewed). His construction of an interaction between a couple for the UBA advert was derived from his own observations of women in cars that have broken down. For CD1, relating the story of the advert to his observations helps to depict realism in the advert. If he can tell the story 'in a compelling' way, therefore, people will connect to it.

To tell such realistic stories, language choice and sound effects are often used to portray typical domains, as explained by CD2:

Extract 4.5

P 2: CD2.rtf - 2:1 (22:23)

22 Afra So how do you normally depict real life situations in radio ads

23 CD2 < . . . > we try to phrase the story and in the context of a normal life so it's nothing extraordinary < . . . > so if commercial's for something local you'd have traffic sounds (.) you'd have somebody speaking in Ga (.) you'd have local language Pidgin English so people could easily be transported to that time and place and they will know what is happening (.) so that is how realism come into it

For CD2, sound effects such as 'traffic sounds' and the use of local languages (Ga and Pidgin) work together to produce a recognisable local context. His account shows a deliberate harnessing of various semiotic resources to index a particular place and event (cf Duranti, 1997; §3.5.4).

Stories are not only based on local scenes but may also include global ones, as CD8 explains with respect to the production of the bragging building contractor Atongo in the Interplast PVC pipes advert (Appendix 8):

Extract 4.6

P 8: CD8.rtf - 8:7 (341:342)

- 341 Afra Errmm (.) but why do you use events like international events because in the last advert I noticed you had Obama's inauguration I think (.) Michael Jackson's funeral (.) South Africa World Cup
- 342 CD8 You know I told you that I use real life situations I use real life situations that have impact on us as as as a nation or as humans (.) Obama was a big deal in the world (.) Michael Jackson was a big deal in the world and for Atongo to associate himself with Obama and Michael Jackson (.) he is a big deal with a lot of humour (.) you you get it < . . . > so basically that was the whole idea and we see Interplast as an international an international pipe so we don't only errr errr what do you call it restrict ourselves to the borders of this country in fact we move beyond it and that is how come Atongo is known all over (.) we've done Iraq whatever (.) before all those war water when you supply them with pipes to link Iran with Iraq because of the wars the bombs destroyed (.) I don't know if you heard of that one before (.)

Though CD8 uses international situations he comments that these 'have an impact on us' (i.e. people in Ghana). The plumber, Atongo, associating himself with real personalities ('Obama' and 'Michael Jackson') who are 'big deals' creates humour in the advert, but such references also convey the international status of Interplast pipes. CD8's choices are deliberate and he is highly aware of their likely indexical status.

So far, in this section, I have explained how producers account for the idea of slice-of-life through the construction of realistic stories, harnessing indexical resources (easily recognisable characters and domains) that are typical of contemporary Ghanaian social reality. The recognisability of the characters and

domains allows stories to be compressed to fit within the very brief duration of the mini-drama that forms the basis of the advert.

4.2.2 Conversations

Interactions in the mini-drama component of slice-of-life designs are challenging as they have to be compressed to fit within the temporal limits discussed above. Conversations are brief and usually limited to talk between two people (§3.4.3 Table 3.9, column on voices in mini-dramas). Producers associated this with cost-saving, as in the extract below from an interview with CW7:

Extract 4.7

P 4: CW7.rtf - 4:56 (43:46)

43 Afra oh okay and errmm is it expensive to do that

44 CW7 Lets see

45 Afra To depict real life

46 CW7 It won't be necessarily more expensive unless we have more voices that is where
the main cost will be at

While producers made explicit the need for conversations to be reduced (brief, few voices) most did not identify specific design features of the conversations such as those I discuss in Chapter 5. Where the nature of conversations was referred to this tended to be in more general terms, as in CW9's comments on his script writing style:

Extract 4.8**P 5: CW9.rtf - 5:67 (127:127)**

127 CW9 < . . . > errmm one one former boss I had one creative director he said that he commended my writing skills because I speak I write spoken language which is very very important for communication (.) if you write spoken language and not book language that that that's there is a big difference (.) spoken language is how the people say it out there that is why when you write scripts you can do your ooos and things (.) oh I like your bag ooo (.) you can bring in the ooo at the end that you know that sort of thing (.) that's how people will say it anyway (.) so if you go and I like your bag (.) you know oh this person doesn't sound natural (.) you you know so you have to use spoken language as much of it as possible

CW9 raises the need for conversation to sound natural – he refers to this as writing 'spoken language' and not 'book language'. Unusually he illustrates this with an example, the pragmatic marker 'ooo', which, as I discuss in Chapter 5, denotes intensity in an utterance in Ghanaian English (Dako, 2003). CW9's account suggests some reflexivity in design at the micro-level of utterances in conversation, i.e. referring to the inclusion of a specific pragmatic feature. This is a fairly noticeable feature, and for CW9 it is important because 'that's how people will say it'. He does not refer explicitly to the pragmatic meaning of 'ooo'. CW9's account, then, displays awareness of the effect of such markers as indexical of natural spoken language intended to create verisimilitude in the interaction.

4.2.2.1 Summary

Above, I have considered producers' accounts of the idea of slice-of-life, and how this is achieved through the selection of stories designed to be realistic, and through realistic conversation between characters. The design has to work in a context in which resources are limited (brief mini-dramas, usually with just two voices). While producers identify components of the design, this is at a general level (reference to typical characters and events, and natural-sounding conversation). With the exception of CW9's mention of the pragmatic marker 'ooo' they are usually silent on more specific interactional features that characterise the dialogues, and which I analyse in Chapter 5. I review producers' accounts further at the end of this section.

4.2.3 Multilingual language use

The producers place considerable emphasis on the use of particular languages as resources for slice-of-life designs. This is perhaps to be expected considering the challenge language choice poses in multilingual contexts compared to monolingual ones (see Higgins 2009; Kelly-Holmes 2005 §2.5 & §2.6) and the social meanings and values attached to the use of different languages (Lee, 2006; Piller, 2001). Below I discuss how producers achieve the idea of slice-of-life by marshalling readily-available indexes associated with the use of particular languages, and sometimes switching between languages, to portray aspects of the target audience's social reality.

The producers' accounts focus on the use of English, Akan²⁴ and Ghanaian Pidgin English. These are discussed in terms of the audiences' understanding and use of these languages, and also the languages' social and interpersonal associations.

4.2.3.1 Audiences' understanding and use of particular languages

Producers aim first to select languages that are comprehensible to their target audience as well as reflecting aspects of their social background and educational level. The producers' accounts show that they see English, Akan and Pidgin as the main languages of understanding of their target audience. Their awareness of the association of English and Akan with particular sectors of their market are illustrated in the following extracts from interviews with CD1 and CD2:

Extract 4.9

P 1: CD1.doc - 1:12 (144:144)

144 CD1 Okay hmm we we combine (.) we combine English erm with local languages sometimes (.) if you are delivering an ad that sells a high end product, definitely the high end people are in the emmm LSM <Lifestyle measure²⁵ on a scale of 1 to 10> from 5 going (.) and they are typically educated they are well employed bla bla bla they are at the high-end so they can understand how the English language is used and the nuances of the language

CD1 suggests that English is selected for its communicative value. However the English speakers targeted by CD1 are also fluent in Akan, the dominant local

²⁴ As mentioned in the Chapter two, 'Twi' is at times used in place of Akan therefore note that it refers to the same language. The producers use these names interchangeably (see §2.6 on the Ghanaian language situation)

²⁵ Refer to earlier explanation in §3.3.1.

language (see §2.5), and English would be a second language for most of these speakers. CD1's comments indicate his awareness of the construction of an elite social group ('high-end people') as his target audience through the languages assigned to his characters. The choice of English mirrors the linguistic practices associated with this target audience.

The producers shared the view of Akan as the language for a mass Ghanaian audience. Their perception of Akan as the ideal language of understanding because of its lingua franca function is illustrated by CD1:

Extract 4.10

P 1: CD1.doc - 1:16 (152:154)

- 152 CD1 Ermm about more than half of Ghana speak Akan (.) so when we want to reach a lot of people in Ghana and the client doesn't have a lot of money (.) we advise them if you did Akan (.) you would have spoken with about more than half of the people (.) so that's what we do (.) I mean even in the North, which is predominantly a Hausa speaking and Dagbani speaking area, you would have people speaking Twi (.) so if the client doesn't have money (.) we do what we call standardisation (.) we standardise the ad so that it can be flighted across even those regions, which are not predominantly Akan but still speak Akan (.) Exactly
- 153 Afra So apart from English (.) out of all the local languages (.) Akan is the
- 154 CD1 Akan is key number one (.) followed by Hausa (.) and then Dagbani

CD1 suggests that Akan cuts across class, ethnic and social boundaries. The use of Akan here is a carefully-calculated strategy, designed to appeal to the widest possible audience for clients who cannot afford to target specific linguistic groups.

Where dual language versions of adverts are available, Akan tends to be used to target lower socio-economic groups – for instance CD2 explains below his

motivations for selecting Akan for his characters in a mobile telephony video-calling service advert (Akan version):

Extract 4.11

P 2: CD2.rtf - 2:24 (64:64)

CD2 < . . . > the local language is because we know that for the lower LSMs they aspire to be like the higher LSMs < . . . > if they have video-calling (.) they want to use video-calling too (.) and indeed in research we found out that a lot of people in for instance Abossey Okai where the mechanics are have a lot of money and use really expensive phones (.) and so they can use MMS as well if they were told about the service and how to use it (.) so the local language version helps deliver on that

In this case market research has identified a particular target group, 'lower LSMs' (see §3.3.1), who can afford the product but either do not speak or do not have a have a good command of English, and so are reached through the local language. This is the typical profile of the Abossey Okai²⁶ mechanical parts trader.

Producers also refer to the potential of Pidgin as a lingua franca relevant to several social groups, as in the extract below from an interview with CD8:

²⁶ An area in Accra popular as a mechanical parts retailing centre with a large number of shops owned by rich businessmen, most not highly educated.

Extract 4.12**P 8: CD8.rtf - 8:41 (212:212)**

CD8 < . . . > and I've I have moved on I've started using errrm Pidgin (.) which is now also very common now these days (.) Pidgin because it cuts across both ways (.) I mean if I don't speak you go to Nigeria for instance they use they have Pidgin as one of their their spoken errr what do you call it (.) errr language so I think Pidgin serves a very good errr errr a very good purpose in terms of communication (.) because errmm those who don't speak good English still relates to it and understands it (.) those errr who speak Twi Ga whatever also understand a bit of of it (.) I mean because is the broken English so you might not just be very errr errr constructive and straight to the point in terms of your vocabs <vocabulary> and whatever. But at least with Pidgin it cuts across (.) so that is it < . . . >

CD8's selection of Pidgin is motivated by the belief that it 'cuts across' different groups: people who speak all levels of English as well as the local languages. Here too the motivation is to communicate in a language that the imagined listener will understand.

4.2.3.2 The representation of local language practices

In discussing the use of languages their target audiences will understand, producers display a degree of metalinguistic awareness with respect to the associations of particular languages with particular social groups. Producers also comment on the deliberate reflection of local language practices in the adverts. Their aim is to 'sound as natural as possible' (CD2) and to 'make them more real' (CW7). CW7 expands on this point in relation to the use of code-switching:

Extract 4.13

P 4: CW7.rtf - 4:54 (69:69)

69 CW7 To make them more real (.) in Ghana we most people most people understand a few words in other languages (.) you would see someone speaking Twi and adding a word or two in English (.) or you could see someone speaking English and trying to explain something using a Twi word

Code-switching is used here to depict a realistic sociolinguistic practice. FLC4 comments also on a switch from Akan to English which was the outcome of consultations with the target audience:

Extract 4.14

P 6: FLC4.rtf - 6:45 (86:89)

86 Afra because that Gari advert I remember I heard *student* a lot in there but although you were saying the rest in Akan (.) you could have said *sukuufo* <students> but I

87 FLC4 Yes yes yes

88 Afra Is there a reason for keeping them in

89 FLC4 Yes yes errmm you know the the group I was targeting the the students (.) the university students mostly in the second cycle students were those I was targeting and errmm my checks confirmed that they would prefer being addressed to as *students* rather than *sukuufo* <students>

The switch to 'students' in an Akan-language advert reflects a common sociolinguistic practice amongst Ghanaian students. The word 'sukuufo' <students> is usually not used by Ghanaian students, but the producer here checks with students themselves to ascertain their preferences. This is not a case of impersonal bilingualism (see Haarman, 1989) or linguistic fetishism (Kelly Holmes, 2000 & 2005); rather, a portrayal of a real (and preferred) bilingual

practice similar to Myers-Scotton's (1988 & 2000) description of unmarked choices in postcolonial African contexts.

The use of Pidgin is also seen as reflecting local language practices, as discussed by CW9 below:

Extract 4.15

P 5: CW9.rtf - 5:42 (145:147)

- 145 CW9 Oh like your for factory foreman and errmm engineers and I mean the mechanics carpenters people who are xxx we use Pidgin English when you are targeting that market (.)
- 146 Afra hmm why you think
- 147 CW9 Because that's how they talk that's how they talk (.) so when you see them you want to speak to them in Pidgin and not in real English so that immediately you have the rapport (.) so that is what the communication is seeking to achieve (.) you want to establish a rapport with your listener (.) so you use their language

CW9 shows an awareness of Pidgin as an indexical resource to portray the linguistic practice of blue-collar workers ('because that's how they talk'). But Pidgin is also linked to social motivations for its use as an in-group language used for solidarity purposes (§2.5, Dako, 2002a and Huber, 1999 & 2004), in this case its use is designed to establish rapport with listeners. Language choice here is subtly linked to the construction of the target audience's linguistic practices for a persuasive goal. Rapport is achieved by converging towards the perceived language practices of the target audience.

4.2.3.3 Summary

In this sub-section I have discussed producers' accounts of language choice in slice-of-life adverts: their awareness of the communicative value of the languages chosen as well as some of the associational values attached to these languages, drawn on by producers to design adverts that sound 'natural' and also sometimes to create rapport with their target audience. As in the design of realistic stories and conversations, discussed above, language choice needs to take account of certain production constraints: I mentioned the use of Akan when clients wished to address a wide audience but could not afford dual language adverts. A high level of reflexivity is evident in all producers' talk about their linguistic choices, as they refer to the selection of languages used by various characters to reflect their target audience's communicative and associative values.

4.2.4 Dramatization

Slice-of-life is achieved not only through realistic stories, conversations and language choice and language practices but also through what I have termed dramatization. Dramatization refers to the way voice artistes portray typical behavioural traits, mannerisms and other aspects of characterisation and setting, and also the way sound effects are selected to contribute to the mini-dramas. Dramatization is the final stage in producing slice-of-life—this is the execution of the blueprint (§3.5.4, Kress and van Leeuwen, 2001). It is part of 'character embodiment' (Richardson, 2010:132), where 'bodies are realised as voices'. Voice is particularly significant for radio, where characterisation relies predominantly on 'vocal distinctiveness and vocal expressiveness' (Richardson *ibid.*:133).

All producers acknowledged their awareness of voice as an embodiment of character, and as a way of achieving a good dramatization of the script. FLC5, for instance, comments:

Extract 4.16

P 7: FLC5.rtf - 7:34 (44:44)

44 FLC5 It depends upon what you are going to talk about (.) you see ermm for instance if you are advising a young mother to use Auntie Mary's Gripe Water the the voice should sound like a young mother (.) so you look out for somebody who can do that (.) if it's for an elderly person then you'd look out for there are a lot of voices around

FLC5 illustrates vocal distinctiveness as an aspect of characterisation, in which a voice may simultaneously index a character's gender and maternal disposition and that of the imagined target audience for the advert. In §4.3.3.3, I discuss dramatization as observed during advertising production, with regard to vocal distinctiveness and expressiveness and the associational values of particular voices.

Dramatization is also realised through sound effects in the depiction of the fictionalised settings. Although I did not ask about the role of sound effects in the interviews, CD2, in an extract cited above (§4.2.1, Extract 4.5), reflects producers' awareness of these as part of the idea of slice-of-life production, where they help to make the adverts 'real and interesting'.

4.2.5 Summary

In §4.2, I have examined how producers account for the idea of 'slice-of-life' in advertising and its conception and production through a focus on realistic stories, compressed conversations, language choice and language practices, and dramatization. Producers demonstrate what I have termed designed indexicality in that they report drawing together a range of cultural resources, including language resources, that they see as readily understandable to the target audience and as indexical of 'typical' local practices the audience will be familiar with and perhaps share. These need to be designed to work within certain production constraints, including the very brief duration of the mini-dramas.

Sometimes producers report drawing on observations to inform their choices and one producer, FLC4, checked with students, a target audience, on how they wished to be referred to. Producers' choices however are often based on intuitive understandings – e.g. selecting a way of speaking that sounds like natural spoken language, entering 'the mind' of the target audience to create a character they can relate to. Producers' metacultural and metalinguistic knowledge is expressed at a fairly general level and they do not have, or need, a detailed analytical vocabulary to describe their choices.

The understandings provided by producers are complemented by observations of the production process, which provide a greater detail on the construction of two sample adverts. I discuss this process in the following section.

4.3 *The production process: two case studies*

In this section I extend my discussion of production, adding to producers' accounts of their decision-making and choices in the design of slice-of-life adverts. I focus on the second question for this chapter (§4.1): how is 'slice-of-life' co-constructed during the production process, by participants involved in this process?

As I reported in §3.4.2, I was able to observe the production of two radio ads: Vista 2000 paper and Global Access money transfer (I refer to the latter as 'Global Access' below and in the remaining chapters). Vista paper is an English only advertisement and Global Access is an Akan language advertisement with occasional English lexis as well as a brief switch into French. Vista paper was followed from inception through production until it went on air. Global Access was observed at the recording studio stage only. The main focus here will therefore be on the Vista 2000 paper advert because I was able to observe all the processes of production with that advertising agency. However, examples will be drawn from both observation sites as and when necessary to show the practices of the advertisers in producing adverts in different languages. Discussion of both adverts gives insights into the issues around language choice and related language practices and their associational values as discussed in §4.2.3.

Before I present my analysis, I give an overview of the observation context—the 'agents/actors' involved, their roles and responsibilities and the aspects of production that will be discussed further below.

4.3.1 The observation contexts

In the table below, I show an overview of roles and responsibilities of the staff involved in the advertising design and implementation processes.

Figure 4.1 Related job positions and responsibilities

Job position	Responsibilities
Creative director (CD)	Controls and directs the creative department (comprised of the copywriters and graphic designers who are included in brainstorming sessions especially for TV and print ads).
Copywriter (CW)	Oversees all creative tasks within the agency. Responsible for all creative tasks assigned by the CD such as writing scripts for all forms of media (e.g., TV, radio, print and internet).
Media buying executive or Media planner	In charge of media buying, scheduling and planning. Is the liaison person between the agency and the media houses.
Client service representative	Responsible for all media scheduling tasks for clients. Liaises between the agency and the client. The representative of the client within the agency. Ensures that clients' requests are adhered to with both creative and media buyers.
Studio Sound engineer	Works in the production studio independent of the agency. Responsible for operating the recording equipment for the advertising agencies and others who hire the studio for recording purposes. Edits the recorded productions as directed by the producers in charge.
Voice artistes	In practice, helps with the selection of voice artistes, directing the various productions. Work independent of the agency. Most of them are freelance artistes with full time positions in various jobs. Most work in the media as actors, radio presenters, etc. They act out roles assigned to them by the agency that hires them.

All the positions above are occupied by people employed permanently by the advertising agency except the studio sound engineer and the voice artistes who are contracted temporarily for the recording aspect of transforming a radio advert from blueprint into a final product.

For my primary observation, which was Agency 1, I was stationed in the creative director's office. I shared a desk with him for one month and stayed with him at all times except when he had personal visitors. Sharing an office and a desk with the creative director was a good opportunity for me to observe production processes and also to get clarification on issues as and when necessary. The creative director reported all creative matters to me as and when they occurred. Even when there were phone discussions, he made me aware of what the issues were. To the rest of the agency, I was introduced as a student-intern and part of the creative team. Therefore, the creative team (copywriters and creative director) as well as the client service team (all client service representatives and head of client service) called me to come along whenever there was a briefing session or any other creative team meeting.

In Agency 2, the situation was different: I only observed production in the recording studio and had conversations and interviews with the copywriter in charge of the account and one of the media buyers. At the studio where the recording took place, the copywriter introduced me as a researcher. The artistes and studio production staff were welcoming and explained aspects of the processes to me as well as answering any queries. The recording proved to be a rich source of data in this instance as the advert was supposed to be in the local language and as I will later show, turned out to be bilingual.

In Figure 4.2, I set out the various aspects of production and the staff involved at each point for both production processes. The roles and responsibilities of the agency and temporary contracted staff at each aspect of production are presented to serve as a guide to the reader throughout the production story.

Figure 4.2 Stages of production

Stage of production	Vista - Staff involved	Data	Global Access – Staff involved	Data
Briefing	Client Service Rep. & Creative Director	Observation notes Recorded conversations Call report	Client Service Rep & Copywriter	Post production interview
Concept creation 1	Creative Director	Observation notes Recorded conversations Script	Copywriter	Post production interview
Internal approval	Head of Client Service/General Manager	Observation notes Recorded conversations	General Manager cum Creative Director	Post production interview
Brainstorming	Creative team: 2 Copywriters, 2 Graphic Designers, Creative Director	Observation notes Recorded conversations	Not present	Post production interview
Concept creation 2	1 Copywriter	Post production interview	1 Copywriter	Post production interview

Stage of production	Vista - Staff involved	Data	Global Access – Staff involved	Data
Client approval &/editing	Creative Director & Client Service Rep.	Observation notes Recorded conversations	Copywriter & Client Service Rep.	Observation notes Recorded conversations
Voice casting	Client service, Creative Director & Copywriter of advertising concept	Observation notes Recorded conversations	Copywriter & Sound Engineer	Observation notes Recorded conversations
Studio recording	4 voice artistes, 1 Copywriter, Sound Engineer	Observation notes Recorded conversations	3 voice artistes, 1 Copywriter, Sound Engineer	Observation notes Recorded conversations
Track editing	Sound Engineer, Copywriter & unsolicited advice from translator cum announcer voice-over artiste for Global Access	Observation notes Recorded conversations	Sound Engineer, Copywriter & unsolicited advice from translator cum announcer voice-over artiste	Observation notes Recorded conversations
Client approval & final editing instructions	Client Service Rep. Creative Director, Copywriter	Observation notes Recorded conversations	Copywriter & Client Service Rep	Observation notes
Editing	Sound Engineer	Observation notes ²⁷	Sound Engineer, Copywriter, Voice artiste cum Translator	Observation and Recorded conversations

²⁷ No one from the agency was present. The Sound Engineer was asked to work on it since it was a 'minor task' of including a 'bedsong' (background music).

As shown above, production was relatively complex and multifaceted. In the next section, I present a summary of the production stories of the two adverts and I then identify the key themes of analysis to illustrate how slice-of-life adverts are co-constructed by participants. Extracts from observation notes and conversations cited in the production story include information on the date, time and venue in order to situate observations and recordings.

4.3.2 The production story

It became apparent from the producers' accounts that the design of slice-of-life adverts took place through all stages of production, with recurring external influences and ad hoc alterations to the blueprint. This summary provides an overview of the events between the drafting of the script to the eventual advert. First, I present the Vista 2000 English advertising story — the stages of production couched in the different episodes that led to the Vista 2000 advert being put on air. Second, I present part of the production story for the Global Access local (Akan) language advert which is later used in the chapter to illustrate the case of an advert that includes more than one language.

4.3.2.1 The production story of an English only commercial - Vista 2000 advert

The starting point for the production story is the briefing period. This aspect of the design process involves the client service representatives and the creative team. In this instance, the client service representative in charge of the Vista 2000 account presented a document identified within the agency as a 'call report' to the creative director. This report shows all the details surrounding the client requests,

preferences and current agreement. The call report also serves as a brief for creative staff as it holds all information on the client's preferences needed to design a concept (§4.2.1). This brief (also known as 'creative platform', 'worksheet', or 'blueprint' in general advertising practice) is a document which 'gives direction to the creative team' and serves as a guide in designing a creative concept (Wells *et. al.* 2003:314). The client representative talked the creative director through the document explaining the client's request for a radio advert for three of their product ranges: A4 paper for office printing, school notebooks and office envelopes (see Appendix 6 for full report — Visa call report 1). There was no reference to the target audience; however, the client had requested an English language advert. The variety of English was not specified.

The creative director worked solo and produced a one-voice advert for the client (see Fig. 4.3 & Appendix 6, Vista 2000 Stone Age concept). This was a pragmatic call as the client's looming deadline did not make it possible for a briefing session. The client's request for a small budget advert, as indicated in the call report, influenced the creative choice of producing a monologue although the creative director noted that he would have preferred to present the concept as a dialogue. The head of client service changed the previous brief to a request for a two-voice advert but with a 30 second duration — this was the onset of the idea of slice-of-life. As mentioned earlier the creative choice for a one-voice advert or monologue was based on financial constraints. The amended call report requesting a dialogue or two-voice advert with such a short duration was a professional challenge for the creative staff.

The creative staff held a brainstorming session in order to comply with the new directive. The creative director assigned the creative task of designing

concepts to the copywriters on the team. Five scripts were submitted to the client. The details of the scripts submitted are presented in the table below.

Figure 4.3 Vista 2000 advert: details of submitted concepts

Concept name	Duration (seconds)	Number of voices	Characters involved	Concept – scenario
Stone age	45	1	unidentified	Announcer style
Top-of-mind	30	1	unidentified	Announcer style
Assembly	60	3+SFX ²⁸	Headmaster, student, AVO ²⁹ (students SFX might be used)	Students at an assembly and headmaster querying them about their tattered notebooks. The bookshop manager is to be held responsible.
Call-in	60	4+SFX	Radio presenter, Kwame (fired employee), Mr Agyei (employer), AVO	A talk radio show where a fired employee complains about his former employer. Employer calls in to explain that the employee lost his job because the cheap quality paper he bought caused financial loss to the company.
Broken printer	60	4	Boss, female voice (employee), culprit (employee), AVO	An office scenario where a broken printer is being fixed—a paper jam caused by the kind of printing paper used.

²⁸ SFX means sound effects and that is how it was presented in the script (see Figure Appendix 6)

²⁹ Announcer voice over

The client selected the broken printer concept subject to certain amendments within the script and a reduction of the duration from 60 seconds to 45 seconds. Further changes were requested by the client throughout the production process and even after the advert were recorded. These were all adhered to and it was clear that client satisfaction took precedence over the professional judgement of the creative staff. Additional changes were made to the script that were not suggested by the client nor approved by the creative director, as I discuss below.

From the designer's (copywriter of the advert) perspective, the script was an attempt to construct a typical situation within which the product is used in Ghana — an office scenario and a broken printer incident which from his perspective is a typical situation associated with the use of inferior quality paper. The copywriter expresses this in the extract below:

Extract 4.17

67. Afra okay can you talk about how you came by the concept for the Vista ad
68. CW1 < . . . > I looked at the product and I looked at what situations people what situations would demand the use of the product yeah (.) one of them was an office situation where we have the A4 sheets < . . . > so I created a situation where someone is having a problem with their A4 sheets its actually spoiling their printer yeah so that is how it came about (.)

The selection of voices is crucial in constructing typical characters in the advert as mentioned in §4.2.4. The quality of artistes used had to be compromised however as less experienced actors were used in order to minimise the client's costs. After final amendments requested by the client, the script/blueprint was for a 45 second advert with four voices in a dialogic format. In order to achieve this, factual information on the product was reduced.

The recording of the advert, which was the point where the blueprint was transformed into a final product, gave rise to further amendments to the design, as the contracted voice artistes and the recording studio staff made ad hoc alterations to the blueprint. The studio recording staff had to encourage the less experienced voice artistes to exhibit vocal distinctiveness and expressiveness (Richardson, 2010; §4.2.4) in their acting for typical characterisation to be achieved. All the changes made during the recording process had the aim of building on the idea of slice-of-life to index aspects of the characters (as also noted from the producers' accounts in §4.2.2 and §4.2.4).

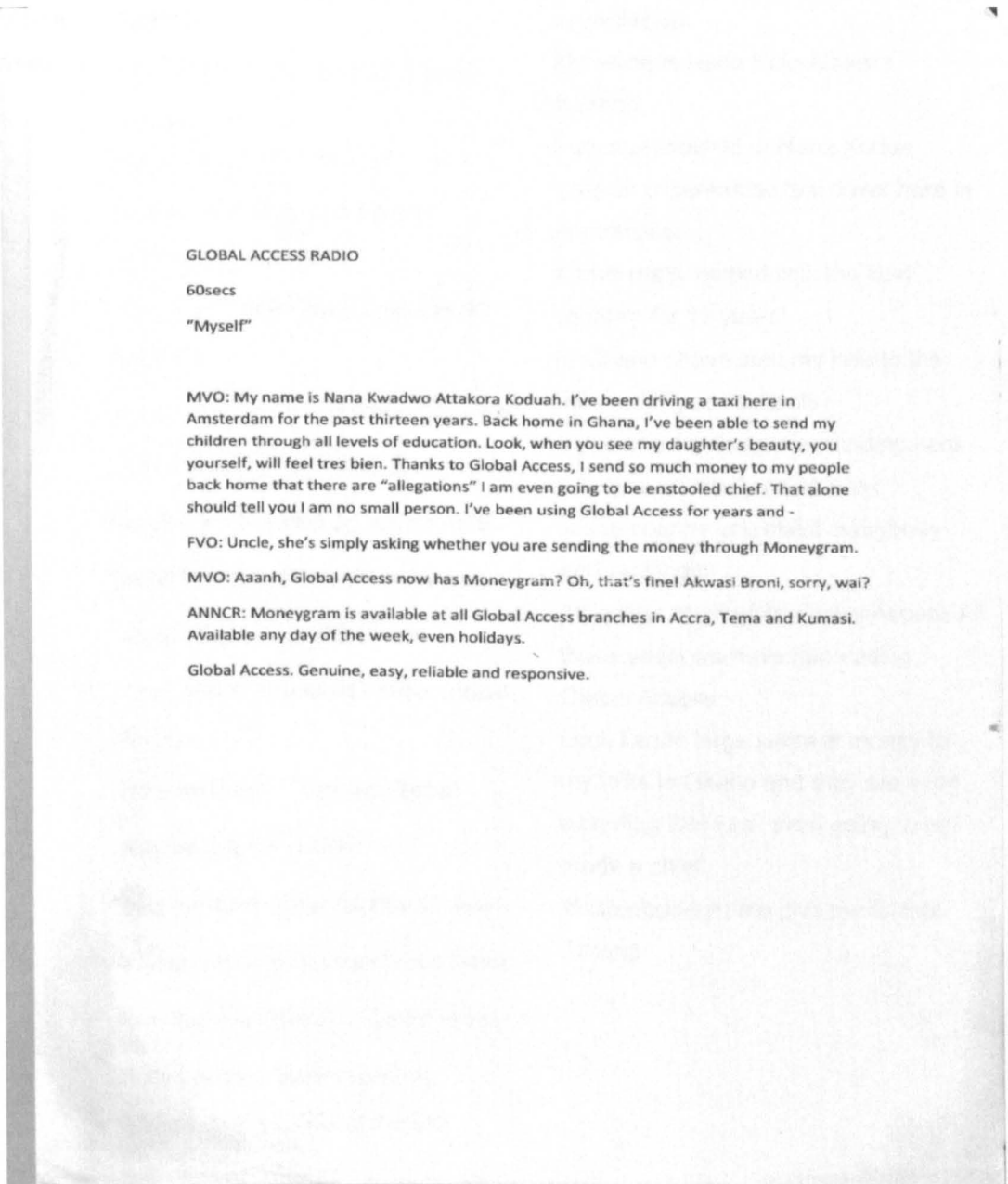
In the next section, I discuss the recording process of the Akan-language Global access advert in order to show further production practices that were not evident in the English-language 'Vista' advert and to highlight some of the language practices discussed in §4.2.3.

4.3.2.2 Studio recording story of a local language commercial - Global Access advert

The production story of Global Access differs from that of Vista paper. In Figure 4.2, I gave an overview of the stages of production for the two adverts. Unlike the Vista advert, in the case of Global Access a demo was recorded as a blueprint for the client. The copywriter was of the view that the demo would be more convincing for the client than a script. This risk, which was primarily financial as it involved paying for the recording of the demo, paid off as the client accepted the demo with minor changes. The original script for the advert is shown in Figure 4.4 below. As the figure shows the script was in English. The translation and representation of this in Akan was left to the discretion of the voice artistes with the exception of

'tres bien', 'allegation' and the brand names I discuss the recording process further below.

Figure 4.4 Global Access original script



The language choices were based on the voice artistes' perceptions and awareness of typical dialogues for their characters although they were at times unconscious of the linguistic choices they made. The final advert showed a pattern

of Akan with English lexis targeting the average Ghanaian who speaks Akan (see Figure 4.5).

Figure 4.5 Global Access final transcript

Turn	Voice	Speech	Translation
1	Male	<p>hwɛ, yɛ frɛ me Nana Kojo Atakora Kodua Nana Kodua nana ne me M'atwi taxi akyɛ yie paa ɛwɔ Amsterdam kurom ha awɔ yi sɛ ɛretwa me ara ni. hwɛ 13 years! wo-kɔ Ghana a, me maa mede wɔn a kɔ sukuu akɛseakɛse paa na wohu me babaa sɛ ogyina hɔ a wobɛ feeli tres bien kurom ha na mose obiara nyɛ obiara ooo Hwɛ, aseda nyinaa nkɔ mma Global Access Mfie dodoo yi nyinaa, Global Access ara na yɛ usei hwɛ me-tumi mane sika kɛsɛ paa kɔ-ma me nkorɔfoɔ wɔ Ghana ɛ-ma wɔn twa me allegation koraa sɛ me koraa yɛreba abesi me hene Massa, twa me Global Access</p>	<p>My name is Nana Kojo Atakora Koduah I am a grandchild of Nana Kodua I am an experienced taxi driver here in Amsterdam I have really battled with the cold weather for 13 years! In Ghana I have sent my kids to the very prestigious schools If you see my daughter standing here now you will really admire her In this country you claim everybody isn't anybody All thanks must go to Global Access All these years we have been using Global Access Look I send large sums of money to my folks in Ghana and they are even asserting that I am even going to be made a chief Master/buddy/mate give me Global Access</p>
2	Female	<p>((Laughter)) nia o-bisa-a wo ɛ-ne sɛ, "wo-pɛ sɛ wo-de sika no fa Moneygram so anaa ɛno ara ne no</p>	<p>((Laughter)) All she asked was if you wanted to send your money via Moneygram That is all</p>

Turn	Voice	Speech	translation
3	Male	aaa, w'repɛ a-kyɛɛ sɛ Global Access nso wɔn wɔ Moneygram	Do you mean Global Access also has Moneygram
4	Female	Aane	Yes
5	Male	Nana paa, na nka me-re-yɛ a-gu m'anɪm ase saa no, hɛɛ! hmmhmm ((giggling)) twa me Global Access Moneygram w'atɛm'ɛkyɛwo adeɛ	Was I, Nana really just about to disgrace myself Hmmhmm ((giggling)) make sure you send it via Global Access Moneygram and I will give you a gift
6	AVO	Obiara yɛ obi wobɛ-nya Moneygram ɛwɔ Global Access nkorabata a ɛwɔ Nkran, Tema ɛne Kumasi wɔ-yɛ adwuma nnaawɔtwe nyinaa a memeneda ne kwasiada ka ho ɛna holiday mpo Global Access, obiara yɛ obi! Y'ɛte mo so a na y'asɔre!	Everybody be somebody You will find Moneygram at all Global Access branches in Accra, Tema and Kumasi They are open all days in the week including Saturdays and Sundays and holidays as well Global Access everybody is somebody You are dependable

Unlike the Vista advert, there was only one instance of an amendment by the client, which did not contradict the professional judgement of the copywriter.

The brief summaries above illustrate that adverts are multi-authored texts with changes to the text made over time, and that there is variability in the design

process between agencies and clients. Neither point was evident in producers' accounts. In the following section I illustrate how slice-of-life adverts are co-constructed by participants during all phases of production in view of the client preferences and financial and other challenges.

4.3.3 Analysis of the production of slice-of-life adverts

The analysis of production processes, discussed below, illustrates designed indexicality at work: the marshalling of a range of indexical elements in the construction of slice-of-life adverts, carried out by all participants and at varying stages of production. The themes emerging in this analysis are consistent with but not identical to themes identified in the producers' accounts: in both cases the design of realistic stories is significant but observations of production provide greater detail on how this is achieved within a number of production constraints, how adverts are multiply authored and how these are amended (re-designed) over time. These features had a significant effect on the production process and the final product. Language use in a multilingual setting, and dramatization remain important themes in observations of production. The design of realistic conversations is particularly evident in relation to the use of Akan and other languages and is therefore discussed under language use rather than separately.

4.3.3.1 The production of realistic stories

Realistic stories are a salient theme here in the same way as they were in the producers' accounts discussed above in §4.2.1 I illustrate below how the construction of slice-of-life in the story was attended to at all points in the production of the advert and by all those involved in production: the creative staff,

the client, the actors/voice artistes and the sound engineer/recording studio staff. In the case of the Vista advert, the head of client services also influenced the creative choices made as he monitored production to ensure that the clients' preferences were adhered to, and this caused a lot of re-drafting in the story (blueprint). This continued into the recording stage (discussed in the following sub-section), where unsanctioned changes by the recording studio staff and artistes were all directed towards choosing appropriate indexical resources to depict a realistic story.

As indicated in the production story above (§4.3.2), the blueprint first designed by the creative director was rejected as the monologue format (one voice advert) was deemed not to be appropriate for the client. The initial design is presented in the figure below:

Figure 4.6 Vista 2000 - Design 1 Stone Age concept

CLIENT	:	VISTA 2000 LTD
BRAND	:	VISTA 2000
PRODUCT	:	VISTA PAPER PRODUCTS
MEDIUM	:	RADIO
DURATION	:	45"
TITLE	:	"STONE AGE"

VO: What would you do in a world without paper?

You would write on stone and perhaps print on sand. Without paper, you are right back in the Stone Age.

But with **Vista 2000**, paper is no more an issue.

For 15 years, Vista 2000 has been supplying all kinds of paper materials for offices, schools and printing houses.

From A4 sheets to students' notebooks, from art paper to envelopes and more, Vista 2000 supplies all your paper needs in whatever quantities you want.

Call Vista 2000 Ltd on 0302-243335/6 and you'll enjoy your quick and regular supply of super-quality paper from Africa's biggest paper supplier.

Think paper and notebooks, think Vista 2000 Ltd.

Vista 2000. Your global source for paper.

The creative staff had earlier intimated that adverts with at least two voices were preferred because that is an element required for a realistic interaction:

dyadic conversations are considered as the basic frame for slice-of-life representations. However, the internal rejection of the Stone Age concept and the amendment made to the brief illustrate the involvement of another participant in the drafting process, the Head of Client Services:

Extract 4.18

Creative director informed the team that he had sent a one-voice ad because of the brief they had received indicated that the client had a low budget. So a 30 second ad he had created was to be sent. However, the GM <General Manager> who is also in charge of Client Service has changed the brief to a two-voice ad at 30 seconds.

Vista observation notes 21/07/2010 4.30pm creative staffs' office

The client service representatives are the client's 'mouthpiece' within the agency, and their choice should reflect the client's preferences. As I later recorded, this decision was well rewarded as the client did select a four-voiced advert out of the five blueprints that were eventually submitted (§4.3.2, Fig.4.3).

Observations revealed several challenges in the production of stories. The first of these was observed during an emergency brainstorming session held after the rejection of the one-voice 'Stone-age' concept by the head of client service, as indicated in my observation notes of the session:

Extract 4.19:

CD asks CW1 & CW2 to produce 2 ads each with two-voice concepts—30 seconds and 45 seconds each. CW1 commented that 2 voice ads cannot be done in 30 seconds. CD receives a phone call and pauses the session. CW1 told me then that the message should be straight forward so a one-voice is appropriate. 30 seconds is just too short for a two-voice ad, otherwise the voice speed has to be fast. Drama based ones are normally 45 seconds or 60 seconds. Note that due to time constraints in couching the message, every microsecond is very valuable therefore each word counts. CD ends his phone call and joins the session. CD changes his mind that they should have two and three voice ad concepts ready. <...>

CD commented to me after the session that even CW1 had noted the difficulty in producing a two-voice ad in 30 seconds. It was a difficult thing to do from his perspective. As he explained, at times, even the AVO portion can take about 20-30 seconds.

Vista observation notes 21/07/2010 4.30pm creative staffs' office

The copywriters and creative director had been given the challenging task of producing a slice-of-life advert with a duration limit of 30 seconds. The CD proposed attempting this in two 30-second concepts, but also attempting two 45-second concepts. These temporal constraints came about because of the client's preferences and budget limits (which had motivated the original design of a one-voice advert by the creative director, subsequently rejected). My notes in Extract 4.19 above show CW1's view that the proposal for a 30-second two-voice advert is impossible, and in fact this was abandoned by the CD who took account of CW1's concerns. Of interest also is CW1's comment that 'each word counts' in a mini-

drama of a few seconds duration. The condensed dramas in slice-of-life adverts are analysed in Chapter 5.

As mentioned above, five concepts were presented to the client, including three 60-second dramas (see Figure 4.3). The client selected a 60 second slice-of-life design (Figure 4.7) from the five presented but wanted this amended to a 45-second design (Figure 4.7, Appendix 6 Vista call report 2). This represented a second challenge for the creative staff, to compress the story to fulfil the client's preferences.

The client's choice of a four-voice blueprint, the broken printer story, illustrates his own preference for a realistic story over an 'announcer-style' advert. Figure 4.7 is a copy of the initial script:

Figure 4.7 Vista 2000 - Broken printer concept script 1

CLIENT : VISTA 2000
 BRAND : VISTA 2000
 PRODUCT : PAPER PRODUCTS / MATERIALS
 MEDIUM : RADIO
 DURATION : 60"
 TITLE : "BROKEN PRINTER"

SFX: A group of people fixing a printer and talking all at once.

Boss: [*Distinct from the other voices*]: What are you people doing to new my printer?

Female voice [*Stammers a response*]: Sir, we are trying to remove sheets of paper stuck in it.

Boss: What! My new printer? Who bought the paper? I say who bought the paper?

Culprit: [*Almost whispering*]: Boss, I did.

Boss: And where did you buy it from?

Culprit: At the new shop around the corner.

Boss: You bought some roadside paper for my expensive printer?

AVO: [*Cut in*]: Using inferior quality paper can give you lots of problems. That's why you need super-quality paper from Vista 2000, the leading paper supplier in Africa. For over 15 years, Vista 2000 has been supplying A4 sheets for office use and printing, envelopes, student notebooks, and many other paper products to leading institutions in Africa. So when you think paper and notebook, think Vista 2000.

Boss: [*Angrily*]: The next time you stick any cheap paper in my printer, you'll pay it.

AVO: Call Vista 2000 Ltd on 0302 - 243 335/6 for your world-class quality paper.

Vista 2000. Your global source for paper.

However the 15 second reduction required a compression of the message into fewer words and represented a challenge for the selection of elements that would portray a realistic story. The challenge was increased by other client demands: repeating the brand name Vista, and including additional adjectives such as 'better' and 'quality', which would increase the duration of the advert. This led to a review of the blueprint. The amended blueprint is presented in Figure 4.8:

Figure 4.8 Vista 2000 - Broken printer concept script 2

CLIENT	:	VISTA 2000
BRAND	:	VISTA 2000
PRODUC	:	PAPER MATERIALS
MEDIUM	:	RADIO
DURATION	:	45"
TITLE	:	"BROKEN PRINTER"

SFX: 4 people pulling paper from a printer and shouting, "pull..., pull..., pull...."

Boss: [*Distinct from the other voices*]: What are you people doing to new my printer?

Female voice [*Stammers a response*]: Sir, we are trying to remove sheets of paper stuck in it.

Boss: What! My new printer? Who bought the paper? I said who bought the paper?

Culprits: [*Almost whispering*]: Boss, I did.

Boss: And where did you buy it from?

Culprits: At the new shop around the corner.

Boss: You bought some roadside paper for my expensive printer?

AVO: [*Cut in*]: Get your **better-quality** and **affordable** paper from Vista 2000, suppliers of Vista line notebooks, envelopes and A4 sheets for office use and printing. When you think Vista line notebooks and paper, think Vista 2000.

Boss: [*Angrily*]: The next time you stick any cheap paper in my printer, you'll pay for it.

AVO: Call Vista 2000 Ltd on 0302 - 243 335/6 for your **affordable**, world-class quality paper.

Vista 2000. Your global source for paper.

As shown in Figure 4.8, the creative staff preserved most of the slice-of-life mini-drama (though replacing the original people 'talking all at once' with shouts of 'pull ..., pull ..., pull ...' may help to set the scene more quickly). The client's requested changes were adhered to by trimming the AVO and in the creative staff's repetition of 'Vista' and bold emphasis of 'better quality' and 'affordable' in AVO's first turn.

This is consistent with my observation notes (Extract 4.19 above) where CW1 highlighted the difficulties of imposing over-stringent cuts on mini-dramas.

A later conversation with CW1 illustrates the importance he attaches to the mini-drama and in particular to the representation of 'believable' stories and characters:

Extract 4.20

P 4: CW1.rtf - 4:58 (74:77) 16/08/2010 2.00pm agency's meeting room

- 74 Afra so how did you come by creating a boss, a culprit and a female voice (.) how did you get those characters
- 75 CW1 ok the boss, the female voice and the culprit (.) ok the boss because errr I am trying to make it more real (.) more believable (.) if I had made it only co-workers ok it will just be when the boss comes in and create the assuming it is his company he is the one who buys the printer (.) it is his money so at least he is responsible for the things in his office (.) so that is the reason why (.) the female just because if you have only male male voices it will be sexist as someone would say (.) it will not be believable
- 76 Afra oh okay it is not because somebody would say but the fact that it wouldn't be believable
- 77 CW1 not directly but I think it would be more believable that is the whole story

CW1 indicates the importance of selecting appropriate characters in an office setting. As he suggests, this characterisation is constructed to make the story 'more real' and 'more believable': the interaction between a boss and his employees is seen as typical of the office domain (Turn 75). The addition of a female voice also contributes to believability (only male voices 'will not be believable'). His reference to only male voices being sexist, as 'someone would say' may indicate an awareness of potential audience reaction.

While this characterisation was preserved, amendments to the story continued as the client requested a second round of alterations which changed the format. The mini-drama with the AVO part embedded in the dialogue was moved to one which had a standard dialogue with the AVO at the end. The requested amendments that led to this and other changes (see also Appendix 6, Call Report 3) are shown in Figure 4.9:

Figure 4.9 Vista 2000 - Broken printer concept script 2 – client's changes

CLIENT

BRAND

PRODUCT

MEDIUM

DURATION

TITLE

:

:

:

:

:

:

VISTA 2000

VISTA 2000

PAPER MATERIALS

RADIO

45"

"BROKEN PRINTER"

1

SFX: 4 people pulling paper from a printer and shouting, "pull..., pull..., pull..."

2

Boss: [Distinct from the other voices]: What are you people doing to my new printer?

3

Female voice [Stammers a response]: Sir, we are trying to remove sheets of paper stuck in it.

4

Boss: What! My new printer? Who bought the paper? I said who bought the paper?

5

Culprit: [Almost whispering]: Boss, I did.

6

Boss: And where did you buy it from? — Don't you know Vista

7

Culprit: At the new shop around the corner. — Vista

8

Boss: You bought some roadside paper for my expensive printer? — Vista Vista Vista - Vista - Vista - This is where you should be buying all paper from now onwards

AVO: [Cut in]: Get your better-quality and affordable paper from Vista 2000, suppliers of Vista line notebooks, envelopes and A4 sheets for office use and printing. When you think Vista line notebooks and paper, think Vista 2000.

Boss: [Angry]: The next time you stick any cheap paper in my printer, you'll pay for it.

AVO: Call Vista 2000 Ltd on 0302 - 243 335/6 for your affordable, world-class quality paper.

Vista 2000. Your global source for paper.

8

VISTA - VISTA - VISTA.

This is where you get Quality Paper and Note books

The client's suggested amendment in Turns 6 and 7 does not affect the conversation frame. However, the deletion of the Boss's last Turn affected the

initial design to have the AVO as a standard standalone character voice. At this point, the creative staff exhibited their awareness of the implications of the suggested amendments in Figure 4.9. To them, their initial conversation frame was a much better resource to index typical talk practices:

Extract 4.21

I asked why the AVO was not ending the dialogue with a monologue. This seems to be different from a financial ad he had done earlier. He explained that he constructs the dialogue with monologue formats when he is hard pressed with time and struggling to cut down but ideally, he uses or prefers the dialogue formats as we have in the current Vista script where the AVO does not end the story. The actors or characters end the story to make it 'more at home' than the embedded format.

Vista observation notes 26/07/2010 11.10am CD's office

The creative director's perspective suggests that ending with a monologue as in the AVO's standard turn (Figure 4.8) foregrounds the realistic mini-drama aspect of the advert. His view reported in my notes (Extract 4.21) reveals his perception of characters' conversation as typical talk practices compared to that of the AVO. The AVO is perceived as a disembodied voice (§4.2.4 Abdulkadir, 1997) as the creative director considers him as distinct from the characters in the drama and not part of the typical talk practices. Although the client supported the idea of slice-of-life by selecting the broken printer story over a one-voice advert, his last amendment of the dialogic structure arguably weakened the creative staff's intended portrayal of real life.

Summary

In this section, I have discussed the initial decision to adopt a realistic slice-of-life story in the Vista advert, and how this was subsequently constructed as a mini-drama in a 'typical' office setting. Production constraints mentioned by the producer (§4.2.1) are illustrated here in greater detail. Such constraints around production have not been discussed in previous studies of advertising texts. I have considered how multiple 'designers' (client and Head of Client Services as well as creative staff) affect the production of slice-of-life and how temporal constraints, resulting from the client's budget, influence the space within which designs are created. The role of the client and client service in the co-construction of the story only became visible in my observations – the possibility of this was not addressed in any of the producers' accounts (§4.2). I have suggested that, within these constraints, creative staff seek to preserve the slice-of-life drama, with its 'believable' characters and setting, prioritising this over the AVO when cuts are required. A scene corresponding to the audiences' social reality therefore continues to be portrayed within the contracted duration. This is consistent with my earlier reference to slice-of-life adverts as 'compressed stories' (§2.3, Cook, 2001). The client's final amendment however in this case changed the format of the advert and affected creative staff's representation of 'real life'.

In the next section, I discuss how a sustained focus on achieving the idea of slice-of-life through appropriate dramatization to index character traits and further develop the realistic story is exhibited in the studio recording process.

4.3.3.2 Realistic dramatization

Realistic dramatization, as discussed in §4.2.4, became evident in the recording process. While appropriate voices had to be selected as indexical resources (see earlier, §4.2.4 Extract 4.17) the focus in recording was on working with the selected voice artistes and their dramatization. Skilful dramatization is seen as a prerequisite to achieve what Richardson (2010) terms a good 'vignette of the [target audiences'] social life'.

As an illustration, during the recording of the Vista advert the studio sound engineer continued the design process in ensuring that the 'boss' character was not 'too dry' and even commented at a point that 'you <to boss character> are reading'. He directed the artiste to get into character, suggesting that he should show more vocal expression to index his emotional state. The sound engineer's actions indicate his awareness of the indexical value vocal expression can convey to depict, for example, the emotions of the character as an angry boss.

In addition, the sound engineer suggested refinement of what he regarded as the 'funny' or crude repetition of the word 'Vista'. His suggestion was in line with the creative personnel's professional judgement which was earlier discarded to satisfy the client's demands for the use of the turn, 'Vista! Vista! Vista!' The creative director modified the client's edits by including the directive '[Angrily]' as a guide for the voice artiste to portray the boss's emotional state at the sight of the broken printer. The sound engineer's suggestion reiterated the focus on vocal expression as an indexical resource. Furthermore, the voice artiste's (playing the boss character) use of 'yes!' came naturally during the recording when he was directed to show more emotion in performing that line. In this instance, happenstance situations introduced new 'designers' of the Vista text and modified

the original blueprint by including further indexical resources to increase verisimilitude.

The sound engineer also suggested amendments to the opening line of the drama:

Extract 4.22

Studio sound engineer suggested a change in the opening line "pull, pull, pull". He explained that it would sound profane to some listeners if they just start with "pull". Copywriter agreed to the suggestion, so they incorporated some new lines to change the introduction of the script. I noted that the copywriter did not ask for approval from the creative director in the office. His decision was a pragmatic one and hopefully creative director will approve of it.

Vista observation notes 29/07/2010 3.00pm Recording studio

Turn 1 in the final script was amended from:

Extract 4.23

Turn 1 SFX: 4 people pulling paper from a printer and shouting, "pull..., pull..., pull..."

To the inclusion of the following turns in the script:

Extract 4.24

Turn 1	Female voice	Turn it off
Turn 2	Culprit	I've turned it off
Turn 3	Female voice	I'm pulling, I'm pulling, ah ouch!

Vista final transcript

In my observation notes (Extract 4.22), the ad hoc amendment proposed by the sound engineer is intended to resolve the ambiguity in the line 'pull, pull, pull' which had not been picked up during the various amendments discussed in the previous section. The modifications suggested by the sound engineer were intended to convey the notion of a paper jam and avoid the possible interpretation

of 'profanity'. The sound engineer's suggestions draw attention to the negative sociocultural meaning attached to the concept of pulling and indicate a further stage in the continuous co-construction of slice-of-life adverts by multiple designers (creative and non-creative staff) which is not referred to in the producers' accounts.

The co-construction of slice-of-life also involved the voice artistes. During the editing session (§4.3.2, Fig.2) of the recording process the voice artiste for the boss character made a suggestion:

Extract 4.25

Boss suggests that repeating Vista three times sounds funny so 'okay' added by copywriter - (the culprit) character should be included. Sound engineer and copywriter agreed so it is edited accordingly.

[. . .] All in the studio then agreed that the Vista repetition is not too good but the angry mood included makes it appear natural.

Vista observation notes 29/07/2010 4.50pm Recording studio

Although this was accepted, during the editing process that turn was deleted because of temporal constraints.

Summary

In this section, I have discussed how dramatization is collaboratively constructed by multiple 'designers' in the studio to achieve an appropriate enactment of slice-of-life. I have suggested that these ad hoc design inputs displayed attention to the associational values, and potential indexical properties, of particular script choices. Although the transformation of characters constructed in the blueprint is the responsibility of the agency creative representative who performs the role of a director for the production (§4.3.1, Fig.4.1), studio staff and the voice artistes also

switch into informal designer and directing roles. The concept of 'design' is conventionally distinguished from 'production' (cf Kress and van Leeuwen, 2001) but my observation of the production of a slice-of-life advert suggests that processes of design and re-design continue throughout the production process. This is evident in the mix of consciously designed and scripted with off-the-cuff constructions, all of which are aimed at ensuring an appropriate dramatization of the characters in order to index the typical character traits of their real life equivalents.

4.3.3.3 Realistic language practices

In §4.2.3, I argued that producers select particular languages in slice-of-life adverts for a dual purpose: their communicative and associational values. I continue this discussion below, focussing on the selection and use of language(s) as part of the production process. I refer to the production of the Vista advert particularly for the use of English; and, in greater detail, to the recording studio session of the Global Access advert for the bilingual practice of using Akan with English and other lexis.

The Vista paper advert was solely in English and the choice of language came initially from the client:

Extract 4.26

The Jingle³⁰ should be in English and talk of the above with a focus on Vista as a company with its existence in Ghana for 15 years and serving Ghana with its superior paper products.

Vista call report 1 (see Appendix 6)

³⁰ 'Jingle' here is used unconventionally to refer to the advert and this is an error from the client service representative who submitted the report.

However, the creative staff's selection of English for the advert was based not only on the client's choice but also on their awareness of English as the language of business and commerce that would therefore be appropriate to their target audience — corporate bodies (and users of printers, photocopiers, schools, bookshops). This was evident in my interaction with the creative director about the appropriate language for the Vista advert:

Extract 4.27

He responded that it is mainly Akan, Dagbani, Hausa and English. Considering the language of the target audience which will be corporate bodies, English would be most appropriate then maybe the other major local languages mentioned earlier.

Vista observation notes 20/07/2010 10.30am CD's office

The creative director's reference to the communicative value of English in Ghana is consistent with the producers' accounts discussed above (§4.2.3). This view was reiterated by the copywriter for Vista:

Extract 4.28

P 4: CW1.rtf - 4:58 (78:81) 16/08/2010 2.00pm agency's meeting room

- 78 Afra Okay anyway and errmm concerning the choice of words. Did you decide to put this entirely in English?
- 79 CW1 Yes
- 80 Afra Why?
- 81 CW1 Because the target audience are English speaking people or they understand English so yeah it would have to be in English

The copywriter's response suggests it was a pragmatic choice to present the message in a language that conforms to the audience's communication skills. The creative staff followed the client's choice because it was consistent with their own

persuasive strategy. It is notable however that the explicit references by creative staff to the use of English were derived from my questions. While the client's choice was reported there was no formal discussion of the language to be used and the selection of English appeared self-evident.

The use of Akan in the Global Access advert required more work and discussion between participants. As I indicated in §4.3, I observed the recording process of Global Access and draw on these observations and conversations with creative staff in my analysis below.

In a post-recording conversation, the copywriter for the script explained his motivation for the choice of Akan:

Extract 4.29

P5: CW9.rtf - 5:37 (123:123)

123 CW9 We use Akan because it means they want to communicate to a particular target market. Like as happened in the Global Access experience. They [client] know their market so they are not about to waste their tagline in an English commercial.

The selection of Akan as the language of the advert came from the copywriter's familiarity with his target audience and his clients' preferences.

In this instance, the original script (see Appendix 7, Global Access original script) was in English, and it had to be translated into Akan as the copywriter later explained:

Extract 4.30

CW1 Because it is obvious I can't write in Akan so when I write I can always get a translator and then he will translate it for me. For instance he [AVO voice artiste] just did it for me

Global Access observation conversation 23/07/2010 1.30pm Recording studio

Producers then do not always outsource their translation tasks, at times the voice artistes act as translators. The Global Access script was translated by voice artistes during the recording session, as indicated in my observation notes:

Extract 4.31

He read through the script for about 5-10 minutes. I noted that copywriter did not give any instruction as to the words to be maintained in English and no questions were asked by male voice artiste . . . Male voice artiste asks for more information about the script. Announcer voice-over artiste and copywriter explain further about the setting being in Amsterdam and the invisible white man asking a question. Male voice artiste rehearses on his own in the sound box before the session starts.

Global Access observation notes 23/07/2010 1.30pm Recording studio

Extract 4.32 illustrates the free translation method that was adopted, which required the male voice artiste to understand the story and his character's role and to enact this in Akan. The male voice artiste and the announcer voice-over have become part of the design process as they select appropriate Akan language words and expressions. Their role as translators cum voice artistes is to make particular language choices and dramatize these such that they index the characters' traits and backgrounds and other related information. The artistes' choice of words and phrases for the uncle character indicate their awareness of the typical language practices of the Ashanti character he represents: Akan with some switches into English (Appendix 7, Global Access final transcript). In using this translation method, the voice artistes' roles as designers was authorised by the copywriter who was conscious of the effect of his choice of free translation:

Extract 4.32

Copywriter So I allow him <the MVO> to use a lot of adlibbing to find his own ways of expressing what I am communicating here <pointing to the original script> (.) so he doesn't have to go verbatim once he gets the meaning and it's in Twi < or Akan> he has to flow

Global Access observation conversation 23/07/2010 1.30pm Recording studio

'Flow' in Extract 4.33 suggests the fluidity of naturally-occurring talk consistent with the focus on slice-of-life. The different designers were highly aware of the effectiveness of free translation, as in the following comment from the male voice artiste:

Extract 4.33

Male voice artiste It gave me room to create you know (.) you realise that the more I was reading the more I was adding

Global Access observation conversation 23/07/2010 1.30pm Recording studio

This creative 'flow' allowed for ad hoc amendments, sanctioned in this case by the copywriter as he seeks to derive verisimilitude through the use of particular linguistic expressions. They are not unexpected ad hoc changes but rather ones he had anticipated and possibly hoped for as indicated in Extract 4.34. The AVO artiste, sound engineer and copywriter all encouraged the male voice artiste to convey the character traits of an Ashanti male:

Extract 4.34

Announcer voice-over artiste directs him to speak like the Ashantis do when bragging about themselves. He emphasised on the need to tap into the Ashanti stereotypical speech and that he should stress on the name Nana Kojo Atakora Koduah and that 'Nana Koduah nana ni mi' <I am the grandchild of Nana Koduah> as well as '13 years'. After 2 trials studio sound engineer commends his efforts. They all laugh and commend him for his adlibbing on 'massa twa me Global Access' <buddy/Master give me Global Access>. Copywriter reminds him to use the phrase 'tres bien'. AVO reiterates that he should look out for the line he had previously used 'wo bɛ feeli tres bien' <you will really admire them>.

Global Access observation notes 23/07/2010 1.30pm Recording studio

In the studio, the announcer voice-over artiste is the most experienced artiste with both spoken and written competence in the Akan language. Therefore his suggestions and directives on the local language use are always adhered to. For instance, he directed the male voice artiste to place stress on the opening lines of the drama:

Extract 4.35

Global Access final transcript

Turn	Voice	Speech	Translation
1	Male	hwɛ, yɛ frɛ me Nana Kojo Atakora Kodua Nana Kodua nana ne me	My name is Nana Kojo Atakora Koduah I am a grandchild of Nana Kodua

The non-referential indexical properties of the Ashanti name conveyed the ethnicity of the character, and the stress on the name highlighted this Ashanti naming practice. The character's self-introduction using his lineage (grandchild of Nana Koduah) and the emphasis on '13 years' as a taxi driver in Amsterdam index the stereotypical bragging behaviour of the Ashanti male. The announcer voice-

over artiste's directive hints at the need to emphasise the name and lineage to produce an effective dramatization of the lead character. Ashanti stereotypical speech characteristics are tapped not only for purposes of linguistic understanding but to index information relating to the gender, age, ethnicity, social group, and other character attributes seen as typical of the Ashanti migrant in Amsterdam. The recording therefore draws on the ad hoc designers' metacultural and metalinguistic awareness of the associational values of these utterances.

The co-construction of slice-of-life by different participants resulted in the final output of an Akan language text with occasional English (and French) lexis—a typical bilingual practice of the Ashanti and most Ghanaians. The producers' discussion revealed their perception of this as the language of the masses (§4.2.3; see also §3.3.1 and §3.3.3). The copywriter directed the male voice artiste to maintain a particular phrase in the original script, 'tres bien' [spelling with no accent]:

Extract 4.36

Look when you see my daughter's beauty you yourself, will feel tres bien.

Global Access original script

Extract 4.37

Global Access final transcript

Turn	Voice	Speech	Translation
1	Male	< . . . > Na wohu me babaa sɛ ogyina hɔ a wobɛ feeli tres bien	< . . . > If you see my daughter standing here now you will really admire her

'Très bien' is a French phrase meaning 'very well'. This phrase is used by Akan speakers as a point of emphasis for a person's disposition. It is also used as a

semantically extended form to express admiration for something or someone, as illustrated in Extract 4.38. The directive to the artiste to maintain ‘tres bien’ introduced a mix of languages at the phrasal level — a French derived phrase. The semantic shift from a consciously constructed ‘very good’ to ‘admire’ was probably unconscious in this instance. This is not an instance of mixing languages to fill a lexical gap; rather, it is using words or phrases associated with the Akan speaking Ashantis who live in Kumasi, the second largest city in Ghana. The use of ‘tres bien’, here was neither planned for a French audience nor was it used for symbolic purposes as in the notion of ‘linguistic fetishism’ (Kelly-Holmes, 2005), ‘impersonal bilingualism’ (Haarman, 1989) or language display (Eastman and Stein, 1993). It is better considered as constructed ‘realistic bilingualism’, conveying a ‘realistic’ impression by tapping into what are perceived as typical speech traits.

Another untranslated expression was ‘allegation’. In this case, there was no directive for the artiste to maintain the word in English. However, it was presented in the original script in double quotation marks and this may have suggested the need to maintain it (see also original script in Appendix 7). Extract 4.38 shows the original script and Extract 4.39 the final transcript, with translation:

Extract 4.38

Thanks to Global Access, I send so much money to my people back home that there are “allegations” I am even going to be enstooled³¹ chief.

Global Access original script

³¹ Ghanaianism meaning to install a chief particularly in Southern Ghana (see Dako, 2003:84)

Extract 4.39

Global Access final transcript

Turn	Voice	Speech	Translation
1	Male	<p>< . . . > Hwε, aseda nyinaa nkɔ mma</p> <p>Global Access</p> <p>Mfie dodoɔ yi nyinaa, Global</p> <p>Access ara na yε usei</p> <p>hwε me-tumi mane sika kεseε paa</p> <p>kɔ-ma me nkorɔfoɔ wɔ Ghana ε-ma</p> <p>wɔn twa me allegation koraa sε me</p> <p>koraa yεreba abesi me hene</p>	<p>< . . . > All thanks must go to Global</p> <p>Access All these years we have</p> <p>been using Global Access</p> <p>Look I send large sums of money to</p> <p>my folks in Ghana and they are</p> <p>even asserting that I am even going</p> <p>to be made a chief</p>

‘Allegation’ as used here appears exaggerated but that is consistent with the ‘bragging’ nature of the Ashantis that the copywriter intimated and its use provoked laughter from other participants in the studio recording. It taps into well-known cultural stereotypes and may therefore be regarded as another, albeit exaggerated instance of ‘realistic bilingualism’.

‘*Massa*’ meaning ‘buddy’ or ‘mate’, derived from the English word ‘master’, is another notable aspect of language choice, as it is a typical form of indigenization. This word conforms to the phonological rules of Akan. An alternative meaning is ‘employer or master’ (Dako, 2003) but as used in the advert it refers to a co-equal, friendly relationship. This Ghanaianism is interpretable here as a face-saving act from Nana (after his display of ignorance). The phrase ‘13 years’, emphasized to index the bragging nature of the Nana character (see above), is also maintained in English.

The use of free translation as part of the co-construction of the advertising text in production resulted in typical speech characteristics which indexed the traits of the Ashanti stock character in order to achieve a slice-of-life effect. These details were however not evident in the producers' accounts and such data can probably only be derived from observation.

In this sub-section, I have suggested that both monolingual and multilingual adverts are constructed to achieve the idea of slice-of-life through the deliberate marshalling of features that are deemed to index recognizable cultural and linguistic practices (or to be 'believable', or 'typical' of audiences' experiences). This is discussed in the producers' accounts, and evidence from the production of the English-language Vista paper advert is consistent with these accounts. This is perhaps unsurprising as references to motivations for the use of English came from discussions I had initiated. I suggested that in this case the selection of English was regarded as self-evident given the audience focus. More complex linguistic issues emerged from the observation of the Global Access advert, and observations here revealed insights not covered in producers' accounts. I have focused largely on the strategy of free translation where a script written in English needs to be transformed into a local language, here Akan. This practice provided further evidence of design continuing throughout the production process and of the existence of multiple designers at different stages in this process (in this case working in the recording studio). The practices of these designers demonstrated awareness of the indexical value of their language choices. While practices such as ad-libbing appeared to be intuitive there was also some reflexivity with respect to the choices made, which was evident in the conversations I had with participants during the recording.

In the final section below, I summarise and review evidence from production discussed in this chapter and how this contributes to an understanding of slice-of-life adverts.

4.4 *Summary and conclusion*

At the beginning of this chapter, I sought to find answers to two questions: The first was how producers account for the idea of 'slice-of-life' in advertising and its conception and production in radio adverts. The second was how 'slice-of-life' is co-constructed by participants during the production process. In §4.2 and §4.3, analyses of interviews with producers and observations of production were drawn on to address these questions. In this section, I discuss the significance of the findings in relation to the concept of designed indexicality (§3.5.4) and previous studies discussed in Chapter 2.

The producers' idea of 'slice-of-life' is seen as an approximation to real life adopted for persuasive purposes, as discussed in Chapter 2 from a practitioner's view (Ogilvy, 1995) and from a radio drama perspective (Martins' 2003). Primarily, producers' accounts show a deliberate organisation (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2001) of indexical resources (Silverstein, 1976; Ochs, 1990) to reflect certain associational values in order to achieve verisimilitude within a number of production constraints.

The design process of the Vista advert discussed in §4.3 demonstrates the attributes of Kress and van Leeuwen's concept of design as 'the organisation of what is to be articulated into a blueprint for production' (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2001:50). In the case of both adverts, however, I suggested that design is a continuing process, overlapping with production, as the original concept is

continually re-designed by different participants in the production process, often in the light of a series of production constraints.

A major constraint in the production of the slice-of-life adverts is the very short duration of the mini-dramas that are their core (from 10-60 seconds – see Table 3.9 §3.4.3), resulting from tight budgets. This influences the design of the adverts and their production, e.g. the focus on readily-identifiable stories drawing on ‘typical’ characters and events to convey the point of the advert quickly to an audience who will be familiar with such stories/characters/events. This supports Bell’s (1999:527) view that ‘group characteristics, images and stereotypes [may be] compressed and highlighted in a few seconds of staged time’. Budgetary constraints also affect the number of voice artistes employed and their skills and experience (e.g. the need to employ less experienced artistes to keep costs down in the Vista Paper advert) and language choice (the reported use of Akan for an advert designed to be widely available when a client cannot afford dual language versions). Non-financial constraints include client demands that may be at odds with producers’ conceptions of slice-of-life (the interventions from the client in the Vista Paper advert seeking repeated references to the product name). To a large extent, design can be seen as a creative response to such constraints.

Design of the slice-of-life adverts depends on the producers’ and other creative staff’s metalinguistic and metacultural awareness of practices and values within the Ghanaian socio-cultural context. The producers’ accounts indicated their use of stories that index the experiences of their audiences, conversations that index familiar interaction practices, and dramatization through vocal expression and sound effects that are indexical of recognizable mannerisms and behaviour. Aspects of characterisation which ordinarily can be inferred from continuous

interaction need to be recognizable in the 10-60-second dialogues. Indexicality, as illustrated here, is not only a matter of language or related practices as realised in bi/multilingual contexts (cf Duranti, 1997; Mesthrie, 2009; Swann 2009); but also of other culturally-meaningful elements. This is consistent with some other research where e.g. graphology and writing systems (Cook, 2001) and clothing (Eckert, 2008) are identified as indexicals.

Design is often seen as deliberate (cf above), and many production decisions seem to involve self-conscious and explicit choices. Some involve a degree of reflection or planning on the part of participants (e.g. a producer reflecting on his observations of women in cars that have broken down, or consulting students on how they prefer to be referred to). However other design activity, such as the use of free translation, seems to be a more unconscious or at least intuitive process, which positions the production of code-switching in advertising as not wholly 'non-natural' (Kelly-Holmes, 2000:70). The spontaneity in the voice artistes attests to this.

Significantly, the design process of slice-of-life adverts is a matter of collaborative co-construction by the creative and non-creative staff as shown in §4.3.3.1- §4.3.3.4 which has some similarities with television drama (McCormick, 2010). The co-construction of 'slice-of-life' by different participants at varying points during the production process involves multiple designers collaboratively organising indexical resources relying on their metacultural and metalinguistic knowledge of their imagined target audience's social reality. The production case studies revealed that ad hoc designers other than the copywriters and creative directors interviewed in §4.2 are also responsible for the production process (§4.3.3.1 – §4.3.3.4). Designers include: copywriter, creative director, client

representative, client, voice artistes and studio sound engineers or editors, all of whom contributed to the construction of slice-of-life designs.

This chapter has focused on design and production as the first element of the multi-perspectived discourse analysis adopted in this study. In the following chapter, I turn to an analysis of the advertising texts that are the outcome of such design and production activity. I continue to draw on the frameworks of design and indexicality to examine the textual characteristics of slice-of-life adverts.

5 The advertising text

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I focused on the resources identified by the producers as well as the practices involved in the construction of slice-of-life design. The analyses revealed producers' metalinguistic and metacultural awareness of the associational values attached to the linguistic and socio-cultural resources used in the adverts. Slice-of-life adverts were designed through the use of indexical resources, adapted during the production process, to construct characters and stories that portray their target audiences' social reality (§4.4). All this had to be achieved within an advert of 30-60 seconds duration, using features that would work within an oral/aural medium, and in the light of various production constraints (time, budget and client's demands). This chapter focuses on the output of this complex production process: a textual analysis of slice-of-life design in 14 adverts produced by those I had interviewed and observed. The chapter addresses my third research question: how may the analysis of advertising texts add to the understanding of slice-of-life advertising?

5.1.1 Analytical points

The textual analytical framework is informed by my discussion with the producers in Chapter 4 and relies largely on similar examinations of radio and television drama (§2.4) namely, Martins (2003) and McCormick (2010) and

advertising texts namely Abdulkadir (1997 & 2000). I also refer to Dako's (2002b & 2003:3) glossary for meaning of 'vocabulary items peculiar to the use of English in Ghana and used by English-speaking Ghanaians' which she terms as Ghanaianisms. I focus on the indexical values of the selected resources and how they are used to create the idea of slice-of-life. In assessing slice-of-life, I focus on the domains (§3.3.3) of the interactions using concepts of design and indexicality to explain the constructs in the texts. I refer to knowledge from the observed production processes and producers' accounts of what they perceive as the persuasive strategies in the advert and the components that form the advertising text as well as any they might not have mentioned or I might not have picked up during observation.

I examine how the patterns identified from the 14 adverts from different producers are constructed with a metalinguistic and metacultural awareness of local socio-cultural and linguistic practices so as to represent the social milieu of their listening audience within the constraints of the medium and production processes discussed in Chapter 4. I consider the characteristics of the mini-dramas as follows: the identification of socially recognisable scenes; the use of specific textual features, including sound effects and paralanguage, address forms and naming conventions, certain interactional features, and language choice and code-switching; and how in combination these realise the idea of the slice-of-life concept designed by producers.

Before beginning the analysis, I provide a brief overview of the 14 selected adverts.

5.2 Selection of the sample advertising texts

The sample of adverts selected for analysis all came from the producers I had interviewed. I selected the most recent adverts produced, for two reasons: (1) these adverts and their production were recollected by the producers and were the focus of their comments during interviews; (2) the recency of the adverts made it likely that they would be easily recalled by the target audience that formed the focus groups. This therefore provided some continuity between the analyses of interviews with producers about the adverts (Chapter 4); the advertising texts themselves (the present chapter); and their reception by the target audience (Chapter 6). As discussed in the introduction to this chapter my analysis of the advertising texts was directly informed by my earlier discussion with the producers.

Table 5.1 below (a reproduction of Table 3.9, §3.4.3) shows the adverts to be analysed in this chapter and their general characteristics. In the sections below I provide transcribed extracts from these adverts. Full transcripts are to be found in Appendix 8.

Table 5.1 Selected adverts

Advert name	Product type	Language used	Format	Voices in advert	Voices in mini-drama component	Domain	Advert duration in seconds	Mini-drama duration in seconds	Radio station
1. United Bank of Africa (UBA)	Banking, investment & insurance	English	Mini-drama with voice-over	3	2	Family	60	10	Joy FM
2. UBA	Banking, investment & insurance	Akan with English	Mini-drama with voice-over	3	2	Family	60	10	Peace FM
3. MTN Video calling	Telecom	English with Akan	Mini-drama with voice-over	4	3	Family and friends, work	60	41	Joy FM
4. MTN Video calling	Telecom	Akan with English	Mini-drama with voice-over	4	3	Family and friends, work	60	43	Radio Gold
5. Agricultural Development Bank (ADB)	Banking, investment & insurance	English	Mini-drama with voice-over	3	2	Work	50	20	Joy FM

Advert name	Product type	Language used	Format	Voices in advert	Voices in mini-drama component	Domain	Advert duration in seconds	Mini-drama duration in seconds	Radio station
6. ADB	Banking, investment & insurance	Akan with English	Mini-drama with voice-over	3	2	Work	50	20	Peace FM
7. Yammi Gari Mix	Food	Akan with English	Mini-drama	2	2	Family and friends	60	60	Peace FM
8. Chocho Beauty Soap & Cream	Cosmetic, beauty & toiletries	Akan with English	Mini-drama with song	2	2	Work	60	58	Peace FM
9. Vista	Business equipment & services	English	Mini-drama with voice-over	4	3	Work	45	20	Peace FM
10. Interplast	Home appliances furnishings	Pidgin with English	Mini-drama with voice-over	3	2	Family and friends, work	60	46	Joy FM

Advert name	Product type	Language used	Format	Voices in advert	Voices in mini-drama component	Domain	Advert duration in seconds	Mini-drama duration in seconds	Radio station
11. Global Access	Banking, investment & insurance	Akan with English	Mini-drama with voice-over	3	2	Family and friends, work	60	45	Peace FM
12. MTN Pay-For-Me	Telecom	English with Akan	Mini-drama with voice-over	3	2	Family and friends	60	20	Joy FM
13. MTN Pay-For-Me	Telecom	Akan with English	Mini-drama with voice-over	3	2	Family and friends	60	25	Peace FM
14. Unique Trust (UT)	Banking Investment & insurance	English with Akan	Mini-drama with voice-over	3	2	Family and friends/general	45	20	Radio Gold & Joy FM

5.3 *Socially-recognisable scenes*

In interviews, producers referred to the value of realistic stories (§4.2.1 & §4.3.3.1), and this is realised in the sample adverts. These consistently portrayed easily recognisable scenes (settings, plot, and characterisation) consistent with the lived and familiar experiences of the target listening audience. I term these as socially-recognisable scenes, after Bell's (1984:181) reference to Fishman's (1972) concept of domains as 'socially-identifiable scenes'. As socially-recognisable scenes, the stories in the adverts are designed such that language choice and topic portray 'interaction situations that occur in particular multilingual settings' (Fishman, 1972:19). Socially-recognisable scenes are realised in designs with time limits and other production requirements, unlike the naturally occurring situations that Fishman refers to. In §5.2, Table 5.1 shows the duration of the mini-drama component of the adverts, ranging from 10 to 60 seconds: this is challenging for the producers to develop a realistic story, particularly when duration is further limited as discussed in the Vista production story (§4.3.3.2).

I identified various types of everyday people and events – a couple rushing to get a lift to work, a busy boss dealing with his schedule, getting directions from someone in the street. The events depicted are usually very brief, narrative fragments rather than fully-fledged narratives, and often depend on exaggeration (e.g. in the portrayal of characters) to convey their point: usually a problem or issue to which the advertised product is a solution. This problem-solution structure is consistent with Maynard's (1997) analysis of slice-of-life television adverts in Japan, discussed in Chapter 2.

As an illustration, the United Bank of America (UBA) advert (see transcript below) depicts a brief argument between a husband and wife rushing to get a lift to work. The problem is the lack of their own car and the solution, conveyed in the voice over, a loan scheme:

Sample extract 5.1 United Bank of Africa (UBA) advert

[illegible]

³² I named Kojo's wife 'sweetheart' for referencing purposes in the subsequent discussions.

or the Honda, Audi and Skoda showrooms for
further details
The UBA dream and drive promo last from
11th May to 30th July 2009
Conditions apply
UBA best bank in customer service

The concept indexes a typical husband/wife interaction: it is a common scenario that could occur in marriages not only in Ghana³³. The intimate relationship between the characters is conveyed in the term 'sweetheart' used by Kojo and the 'honest level of self-disclosure' (O'Keeffe, 2006:91) of anger/annoyance expressed by the wife in Turn 2. The woman is clearly constructed as irritated and the man, Kojo, as unable to respond (perhaps at a loss for how to respond) as depicted in his incomplete speaking turns (Turns 3, 5 and 7). The story is cut off abruptly without a resolution (the couple have reached an impasse, their lift is about to go without them) and this creates a space for an external resolution provided by the voice over. As the producer commented later, he saw the scenario and characters as typical of his target audience - young executives. However, the characters are intended to index not just young executives but other members of the listening community who do not own cars. Here characterisation is constructed as an indexical resource to portray the stereotypical behaviour of an irritated wife. This has to be achieved very rapidly in a mini-drama lasting just 10 seconds.

The Agricultural Development Bank (ADB) advert depicts another everyday scene, this time within a work environment: a busy boss interacting with his

³³ This is suggested by responses from non-Ghanaians who listened to this advert during a presentation.

secretary. A list of his scheduled activities dictated by his secretary indicates a clash in his appointments and that presents a problem, with ADB Saturday banking as the solution:

Sample extract 5.2 – Agric Development Bank (ADB) advert

Turn	Voice	Speech
1	SFX	Phone rings
2	Boss	Hello Joanne, make it snappy I have to run You know it's a Friday
3	Joanne	Sir errr just to update you on your schedule
4	Boss	Mm-hm
5	Joanne	You have a 7pm dinner at the Four Seasons
6	Boss	Yeah
7	Joanne	A 1 o'clock meeting with our lawyers and a 2.30 at the bank
8	Boss	Oh no I've booked a meeting with our suppliers at 3 Put Michael on the bank meeting
9	Joanne	I am afraid he is off for the day Sir
10	Boss	Oh dear
11	AVO	With so much to do on week days don't let banking be an issue The ADB now offers Saturday banking at selected branches between 9am and 2pm You can transact business at selected ADB branches in Accra Or branches in Adum Kumasi Sunyani Techiman Berekum Swedru and Tamale are also open on Saturdays to give you a full bouquet of our services Because to explore to achieve everyday
12	Song chorus	ADB
13	AVO	ADB Agric and more

The interaction takes place in a work setting. The boss's actual location is unclear but the phone ring tone is similar to that of traditional landline ring tones or even some mobile phones in Ghana. The interaction between the boss and his personal assistant or secretary, Joanne, introduces him as busy: 'make it snappy, I have to run'. The secretary giving an update of the boss's schedule is typical of secretary/boss relationships. Joanne's list of his appointments (Turns 5 and 7) reveals the tight schedules typical of his position and the need to delegate and reschedule some of his meetings. The designed interaction transports the audience to a contemporary Ghanaian office work setting. During an interview with the producer of this text, his personal assistant came to remind him of a scheduled meeting. He referred to the concept under discussion as a typical occurrence. Such everyday characters and events make up the story fragment. The characters are designed to index typical traits of their real life equivalents to give the story a rapid recognition. Again, as in the car example above, the story ends abruptly with a problem the characters are unable to resolve ('oh dear', Turn 10) and the resolution is provided by the voice over.

To some extent all the characterisations in the dramas rely on stereotypes for rapid recognition. However some dramas depict more heavily exaggerated characters and stories which are at times depicted humorously as in the Interplast advert. The bragging plumbing contractor in this advert is constructed as a socially recognisable but exaggerated character. It is the only advert with a 'recurrent character' (Abdulkadir, 1997) in the corpus. This scenario is designed with indexical signs selected to communicate aspects of characterisation. The lead character (Atongo) is depicted as boastful and his mannerisms and actions are typical of his characterisation in other adverts for Interplast PVC pipes:

Sample extract 5.3 - Interplast PVC Pipes advert

Turn	Voice	Speech	Translation
1	Atongo	Ei Hotman ei (laughter) Hotman ibi you bi dis?	Pragmatic marker for excitement/surprise Hotman Hotman is that really you?
2	Hotman	Atongo bi dat? Where you go dey?	Atongo is that you? Where have you been?
3	Atongo	Hmm I go dey America and Europe small wey I attend Obama inauguration then I go supply water for Michael Jackson funeral	Hmm I have been in America and Europe for a while and I attended Obama's inauguration and then I went to supply water for Michael Jackson's funeral
4	Hotman	Eiii Atongo the diplomat bi that ooo I go fit trust you?	Pragmatic marker for excitement that is Atongo the diplomat Can I believe you?
5	Atongo	Ooh see I even get contract to lay pipes to Afghanistan, Iraq, Somalia, Palestine	Look I even have a contract to lay pipes to Afghanistan, Iraq, Somalia, Palestine
6	Hotman	Eiiii the great Atongo make I believe you	Pragmatic marker for excitement the great Atongo should I believe you
7	Atongo	Oooh yes you forget say I tell you say ibi only Interplast PVC and HDPE pipes wey i fit stand atomic bombs	Ooo have you forgotten I told you that only Interplast PVC and HDPE pipes can withstand atomic bombs
8	Hotman	Atongo my man	That is my friend Atongo
9	Atongo	And see like everybody for America and Europe use Interplast pipes then ma economy no go leave for	If all the people in America and Europe had used Interplast pipes then their economy would not have

		excursion	left for an excursion
10	Hotman	Oh Atongo ibi recession i no bi excursion	Oh Atongo it is recession and not excursion
11	Atongo	Oh see if i no bi excursion like today i dey America tomorrow Germany wey CNN too dey follow am like dat	Oh if it is not excursion then how come today it is in America tomorrow it is in Germany and why is CNN monitoring its trend
12	Hotman	Atongo bi dat ooo International plumber with international pipes	That is Atongo the international plumber with international pipes
13	Atongo	((laughter both)) now we come prepare for South Africa World Cup me too I can't wait	((laughter)) now we are preparing for South Africa World Cup and I can't wait
14	AVO	((laughter)) Interplast Wherever you are we make sure water reaches you Even space	

The dialogue is designed as an interaction between two friends who meet unexpectedly after an absence as shown in Turns 1 – 2 where they show excitement and surprise after which they mention each other's names. There is a play on the idea that a plumber (and perhaps others providing a similar service) may exaggerate the importance of their contacts and the kinds of work they take on as Atongo does in Turns 3 and 5. Here, this is taken to ridiculous extremes with references to incidents that cannot have taken place, and which the audience knows cannot have taken place: the plumber's participation in recent well-known

international events, or places that are in the news. This is pointed up by the friend's response (Turns 4 and 6): 'can I believe you?'

The hyper-exaggeration is extended to Atongo's description of the benefits of Interplast pipes – they can withstand atomic bombs, their installation would have saved countries from recession. This exaggeration introduces humour through the incongruity (Attardo, 2008) of the contracts claimed by Atongo and his actual social position. The mini-drama in this advert seems to be aimed at creating brand recognition and not to indicate a problem-solution structure as the previous two scenarios do to convey information about their products' attributes. The character himself mentions the product name rather than this being mentioned in a voice over. The voice over draws a message from the interaction but this is presented as an ironic commentary as the whole design begins with laughter and ends with an ironic reference to space. This is a humorous intertextual reference to the usual type of voice-overs.

The producer of the Interplast advert refers to his motivation for the design of the Atongo character 'we create the humour around it <characterisation> but we tell you the truth'. Producers merge 'fictional constructions and re-constructions of familiar real life situations' (Martins, 2003:95) in constructing exaggerated characters to function for humorous purposes.

The construction of a lost woman and an unreliable stranger in the Unique Trust advert (see transcript below) shows a different use of characterisation. Characterisation although recognisable and based on stereotypes exhibits a metaphorical function, clarified in the voice over. The mini-drama is representational of an interaction between a potential loan applicant and an

unreliable financial loan company, represented in the advert as a woman who has lost her way and an unreliable stranger giving directions.

Sample extract 5.4 - Unique Trust financial advert

Turn	Voice	Speech	My translation	Sound effects
1	Woman	Excuse me sir, I am looking for Easy Life. They say it's around here		Traffic noise - several cars horn beeping, accelerating
2	Young man	Aaah okay, follow this gutter eh to the down lane. Turn right and take the extreme left pass through the lungu lungu bi no a ewo ከከ and look out for the Ghana flag on some sign board eh. W'ahu, wo duru ከ right there no you will see a lady selling roasted plantains bi wə ከ no wo dee bisa no	Aaah okay, follow this gutter eh to the down lane. Turn right and take the extreme left pass through the series of detours and look out for the Ghana flag on some sign board eh. You see when you get there right there you will see a lady selling roasted plantains at that place just ask her.	
3	Woman	What! Errmm Young man is there another way?		
4	AVO	Save yourself the hustle. Do it the UT way with a loan in less than 48 hours. A loan today will make your business, education or family life such a haven. Call UT today on 021610300 or toll free 080048477. UT a loan in less than 48 hours. UT they say no, we say why not?		

The scenario of an unreliable stranger giving directions emanates from links to real-life practices. The interaction between two strangers over directions is a universal human behaviour; however, it is customised to be easily recognisable in the Ghanaian context where street names and signs are not routinely used³⁴ and people often resort to temporary referents. In the advert references to temporary or possibly absent entities such as the 'Ghana flag on a signboard' and the 'lady selling roasted plantains' in addition to the lack of clarity with the 'series of detours' depict the young man as unreliable, giving confusing directions.

The design here is quite complex as the overall meaning is metaphorical. The whole scenario is a representation of the effects of depending on unreliable sources for loans. The figurative use of the scenario is evident only when the solution is presented by the announcer voice over. The target audience, envisaged as people who may need a loan, is aligned with the lost woman. The unreliable nature of the young man depicts confusing procedures in applying for loans within the Ghanaian context. All this is conveyed through the character's compressed behavioural traits and actions that portray the erratic informal location (address) system in Ghana and a typical stranger to stranger interaction.

5.3.1 Summary

In this section, I have discussed how socially recognisable scenes are used to represent slice-of-life. I have shown that characters and events, while not real, nevertheless index types of people and situations which are familiar to listeners. In

³⁴The President of Ghana has directed the Minister for Local Government and Rural Development to implement within 18 months naming of all streets in Ghana.

<http://edition.myjoyonline.com/pages/news/201305/106567.php>

Chapter 4, I discussed how producers organise these resources using their awareness of social and workplace settings, behavioural traits and mannerisms of characters, and contemporaneous events in the Ghanaian context. Importantly, the associational values of the indexical resources used help to construct scenarios that are easily recognisable within a short duration, for example the 10 second mini-drama in the UBA advert. On the whole, recognisable characters and events are designed such that the listening community can quickly identify these and relate them, even where they are exaggerated, to people or incidents they might have encountered (Martins 2003:100).

5.4 Sound effects and paralanguage

The patterns of socially recognisable scenarios show that they are constructed, not only with recognisable participants/characters but also through the associations drawn from the use of sound effects and paralanguage. Sound effects and paralanguage are identified by the producers as a feature for the production of real life (§4.2.1). Paralanguage (particularly laughter) is observed during the recording of the Global Access advert as an ad hoc design that was incorporated during the 'free translation' process. I discuss the use of these two features in the selected adverts and their functions.

Sound effects observed in the corpus are all indexical, doing more than acting as 'background noises to depict the nature of the setting' (Martins, 2003:102). Drawing on producers' views on sound effects in §4.2.4, in the texts, sound effects are designed to set the scene quickly in indexing the physical settings of the scenarios; and through this, they also tell part of the story. From the samples, traffic noises (Unique Trust), car horn beeping, accelerating, engine running (UBA), phone ringing (ADB, MTN Video-calling, MTN Pay-For-Me)

contribute to the recognizability of the settings and events and the development of the stories.

As indexical resources, they are strategically placed such that they complement or reinforce the characters' speech. In the UBA advert (§5.3 Sample extract 5.1) the initial horn beeping depicts the driver waiting to give the couple a lift (Turn 1). The placement of the repeated car horn beeping right after Kojo urges his wife to hurry is strategic in complementing his verbal efforts (Turns 2 & 3), indexing the driver's impatience. Likewise, the engine running and accelerating sound is representative of impatience but also its placement before and during the AVO's presentation of the factual details of the car loan scheme continues the drama alongside the voice over, suggesting that the impatient driver is moving off without the couple.

Sound effects are convenient as these convey meaning simultaneously with character interaction. The very brief, 10-second drama can also be extended by the car horn overlapping the voice over (continuing, overlapping dialogue would not be possible, making the voice over message hard to hear). There is also ambiguity in the later car accelerating sound during the voice over: this could index an impatient car owner or a new 'dream' car the couple could be driving, or potentially both. Moreover, the car horn beeping and the acceleration introduces a third but hidden voice. The driver him or herself does not take a turn in speech, therefore sound effects can be a money and time saver for the producer as discussed in §4.3.3.2.

In the ADB advert discussed earlier (Sample extract 5.2), a phone ringtone is used to index the beginning of a phone call. Similarly, the interaction between

Osei and his generous Uncle Ato in the MTN Pay-For-Me advert is indexed as a phone interaction through the initial phone ringtone shown in the extract below.

Sample extract 5.5 – MTN Pay-For-Me advert

Turn	Voice	Speech	Sound effects
		Sfx	Phone rings
1	Osei	Hello good morning Uncle Ato	
2	Uncle Ato	Good morning	
3	Osei	Aaaah it's me Osei	

In Sample extract 5.6 below, mobile phone ringing interrupts the interaction between Elsie and the shop assistant. Elsie is unsure about a dress she is trying on, but is able to show this to her friend through the MTN video-calling service. The product use is therefore demonstrated:

Sample extract 5.6 – MTN Video-calling advert

Turn	Voice	Speech	Sound effects
1	Shop attendant	I think this is the perfect style for you	
2	Elsie	Are you sure Anyway let me try again Wait hold on a second Hello	Phone rings
3	Jane	Hello ei <exclamation of surprise> you Elsie whose room are you in?	
4	Elsie	Jane, no I am in a boutique's changing room Well what do you think of this dress?	

Sound effects therefore contribute to the social recognisability of the scenario constructed. In the MTN adverts, which focus on mobile telephony products, and

possibly in the case of the car accelerating at the end of the UBA advert, they also represent products and demonstrate their potential value.

Paralanguage here refers to non-verbal vocal forms accompanying speech. Richardson (2010:133) terms such forms, 'non-verbal vocalisation'. These are usually not scripted but added during production (§4.3.3.4). Laughter was the most common form of non-verbal vocalisation in the sample adverts. Laughter has a range of interactional functions (Holmes, 2000). In the sample adverts it indexes the emotional state and mood of the characters. It may also express friendly relations, and sometimes mitigate a potential face threat as in the MTN Pay-For-Me adverts (English Turn 9 and Akan (translated version) Turn 10):

Sample extract 5.7 – MTN Pay-For-Me (English and Akan versions)

9 Osei Errmm uncle then ((giggle)) then uncle can I call you collect now? [English version]

10 Osei Eeeh uncle ((nervous giggle)) then ((giggle)) uncle can I call you **collect** now? This issue is a bit too long uncle [Akan version]

Osei's giggle is meaningful in combination with the filler 'errmm' which shows some hesitancy in placing the request. It is used here by Osei to mitigate a potential face-threat as the collect call is a financial request at the uncle's expense. The giggles may also be indexical of Osei's disposition.

The extract below illustrates the use of laughter to index close (friendly) relationships between characters:

Sample extract 5.8 – Yammi Gari Mix

Turn	Voice	Speech	Translation
2	Male	Mese εnnε paa adeε a students yi εde ayεme wɔ campus hɔ	You should have seen the way the students treated me on the campus today
3	Female	Adεn wo nɔkwa sesεε wo kokaa brofo tii ye	Why knowing you I am sure you made an error speaking English
4	Male	εdeε bεn, me kɔ kaa εdeεn brɔfo	What error did I make in English?
5	Both	((laughter))	
6	Male	wɔwɔmo se εnnε mmere yi a Yammi Gari Mix εna εwɔ so εna makɔsoa gari kuntaan asikyire bobɔ me bo εna medεbre Sekyere εwɔ dormitory hɔ	They wondered why I have brought such a load of gari and sugar for Sekyere in the dormitory when Yammi Gari Mix can be found in the market
7	Female	Woa woa na ye da wo fɔm tweεε ((laughs))	Oh poor you and they were laughing at you (laughs)
8	Male	Na studentsfɔɔ ne wɔwɔmo huro yi yeεfre me old-timer	And knowing these students and their teasing habits they called me an old- timer
9	Female	((laughs))	
10	Male	Asem yi biao na meeka yi o	Oh this is exactly what I was talking about

Both characters find the incident humorous as they discuss the man's habit of making mistakes in English (Turn 3 – 5). The woman's knowledge of the man's language use suggests a close relationship between them. The woman's laughter (Turn 7) with 'poor you' suggests sympathy for him. Her laughter here is also

indicative of the humour in the incident with the students, and may be designed to make light of this.

5.4.1 Summary

In this section I have discussed how sound effects and paralanguage contribute to the development of the narrative and to characterisation, adding to the rapid recognisability of the scenarios represented in the adverts. Sound effects, as the data shows, are not 'background noises' (Martins, 2003), rather they perform several roles: they seem to represent an absent character or an activity (UBA), relationships between characters (repeated car horn), they indicate something about the setting (busy street, this is now a phone conversation), represent the product (phone, perhaps car). These roles are not always standalone: more often, they have overlapping functions. They help to establish a rapid recognition of aspects of setting and story (car accelerating and car horn beeping sound in the UBA advert) within the temporal constraints discussed in Chapter 4.

In the following sections, I discuss aspects of the spoken dialogue that producers talked about and sometimes commented on in the production process (§4.2.3 & §4.3.3.4) and how these reflect characters' traits, backgrounds and relationships. I discuss in the next section how address forms and naming conventions relate to characterisation and the setting of mini-dramas.

5.5 Address forms and naming conventions

Address terms and naming conventions routinely mark speakers' social status and serve as a way of establishing interpersonal relations (Ervin-Tripp, 1972; Wardhaugh, 2006). They may therefore serve as indices of such status or relations in adverts. Such information contributes to character development as discussed in Abdulkadir's (1997) study. Abdulkadir suggests that the absence of address forms or naming conventions creates what he terms, 'disembodied voices' (p.191). As indexical resources, address forms and naming conventions function to portray the social characteristics of speakers, and to indicate relationships between speakers equivalent to contemporary Ghanaian practices.

The address form 'sweetheart' used by the male character (§5.3 UBA advert Turn 1) indexes intimacy, consistent with the intention of the producer to construct an interaction between a young married couple (§4.2.1). The use of the first name 'Kojo' reiterates the shared intimacy as well as indicating the man's ethnic background — as an Akan. 'Kojo' in the Akan culture refers to a male born on Monday.

In the Interplast PVC advert (§5.3, Sample Extract 5.3) naming conventions index speakers' ethnicity as well as producing humour. 'Atongo' portrays a man from Northern Ghana as it is a surname from the Frafra tribe. The name may be perceived by Ghanaians from other regions and ignorant of the Frafra culture as funny. 'Hotman' on the other hand is a nickname. The producer of the advert commented on his selection of these names:

Interplast producer

Plumbers and masons normally the plumbers they are normally northerners < . . . >
so here at this stage you also have to find out even the tribe or the sort of people
who are actually the culture < . . . > let's give you the northerners name Atongo.

Hotman that is how they call themselves on site

'Hot' is a Ghanaianism meaning 'in difficulties/in trouble' (Dako 2003:109) and 'Hot man' may be interpreted as one who is in a difficult situation. Hotman's characteristics are therefore suggested by his name. The producer of this advert explained that the inclusion of the name was to address the target group who purchase the product – the plumbers and masons who work directly on construction sites.

In some cases the main characters are not named as shown in the Yammi Gari Mix advert:

Sample extract 5.9 – Yammi Gari Mix

Turn	Voice	Speech	Translation
2	Male	Mese εnnε paa adeε a students yi εde ayεme wɔ campus hɔ	You should have seen the way the students treated me on the campus today
3	Female	Adεn wo nɔkwa sesεε wo kokaa brofo tii ye	Why Knowing you I am sure you made an error speaking English
4	Male	εdeε bεn, me kɔ kaa εdeεn brɔfo	What error did I make in English
5	Both	((laughter))	
6	Male	wɔɔmo se εnnε mmere yi a Yammi Gari Mix εna εwɔ so εna makɔsoa gari kunaan asikyire bobɔ me bo εna medεbrε Sekyere εwɔ dormitory hɔ	They wondered why I have brought such a load of gari and sugar for Sekyere in the dormitory when Yammi Gari Mix can be found in the market

Although the man and woman are not named we are introduced to an absent character, ‘Sekyere’ (Turn 6) who is identified as the man’s son or ward in a boarding school (Turn 2). Most Ghanaian senior high school students are in boarding schools where they are allowed to keep food items (such as gari) to supplement school meals. Generally, most boarding school regulations in Ghana allow only relatives (and in some cases close friends) to visit students, so possibly, Sekyere could be related to the male character. Sekyere’s name depicts that he is

an Ashanti and thereby the use of Akan by the characters is matched with their ethnicity. Listeners might find it difficult to determine the relationship between the man and woman. Although it is not clear whether or not they share any kinship ties, their close relationship has already been identified through the use of laughter (§5.4). All these interpretations require knowledge of local socio-cultural practices as mentioned in the previous section.

Address forms may also index institutional relationships (Ervin-Tripp, 1972) as in the boss-secretary relationship identified in the ADB advert below.

Sample extract 5.10 – ADB advert

Turn	Voice	Speech	Sound effects
1	SFX		Phone rings
2	Boss	Hello Joanne make it snappy I have to run You know it's a Friday	
3	Joanne	Sir errr just to update you on your schedule	
4	Boss	Mm-hm	
5	Joanne	You have a 7pm dinner at Four Seasons	

Naming conventions here are asymmetrical: Joanne refers to the man she rings as 'Sir' in Turn 3 which positions the man as her boss, whereas he uses her first name, positioning her as subordinate. Joanne's position as a secretary or personal assistant is interpreted quickly with the ensuing task of sorting the boss' schedule. A similar practice is evident in the Vista Paper advert; the boss character is identified by the reference to him as 'Sir' by a female employee (Turn 5) in the extract below, whereas the boss refers to his employees as 'you people' (Turn 4).

Sample extract 5.11 – Vista Paper advert

Turn	Voice	Speech
1	Female	Turn it off
2	Male	I've turned it off
3	Female	I'm pulling , I'm pulling, ah ouch
4	Boss	Hei what are you people doing to my printer?
5	Female	Sir we are trying to remove the sheets of paper stuck in it
6	Boss	What! My new printer? Who bought the paper?

The use of 'Sir' and 'you people' flags the asymmetrical relationship between the boss and his employees, and 'you people' may also indicate the boss's anger towards the employees for messing up 'his printer'. The power positioning in Ghanaian workplaces is commonly marked in the use of 'Sir' for males in a superior position (cf Ervin-Tripp, 1972).

A different use of 'Sir' is seen in the UT advert (§5.3): the use of 'excuse me Sir' in Turn 1 by the woman seeking directions sets the scene quickly as an encounter between a woman and a man with no obvious power difference or prior relationship. 'Sir' here is not used to signify a superior position but as a deference marker (Ervin-Tripp *ibid.*). Talk with a stranger is expected to be polite and relatively formal as first encounters such as this are potentially face-threatening.

Politeness strategies through address forms within the Akan culture are identified as indexing relationships. A client's use of 'Auntie Seamstress' in Chocho Beauty Soap and Cream advert (extract below) sets the scene as an interaction between a seamstress and her client:

Sample extract 5.12 – Chocho Beauty Soap and Cream advert

Turn	Voice	Speech	Translation
3	Female client	Auntie seamstress eyaa twa me kaba no akyi ma no nkɔ fɔm paa	Auntie seamstress always extend the low cut at the back of my top/blouse
4	Auntie seamstress	Ei na wo efiri dabɛn na wo twaa wo kaba na ɛkɔɔ fɔm	[exclamation of surprise] since when did you start wearing low cut blouse to even have it extended

‘Auntie’ is a polite address term typical of the Akan culture where older people with no biological link are called aunties and uncles. The seamstress is tagged as an auntie in this case as a ‘respectful appellation to an adult, educated woman’ (Dako 2003:32). The seamstress is portrayed as older than the client: in Ghana, an older client would not address a younger seamstress as ‘auntie’ but would use a first name.

Similarly, ‘uncle’ is as a respectful address term in the interaction between Osei and Uncle Ato in the MTN Pay-For-Me advert extract below.

Sample extract 5.13 – MTN Pay-For-Me advert

Turn	Voice	Speech	Translation	Sound effects
1				Phone rings
2	Osei	Hello good morning Uncle Ato		
3	Uncle Ato	Good morning		
4	Osei	Aaaah it's me Osei		
5	Uncle Ato	Ehe errr Osei what happened to you yesterday		
6	Osei	Sorry about that Uncle my credit wasn't much that is why		
7	Uncle Ato	Oh Osei you could have just told me		
		Aden na woantwa mi collect	Why didn't you make a	
		Why didn't you make a collect	collect call to me	
		call to me		
		Eh Osei you could have made		
		a collect cal to me with errr		
		MTN Pay-For-Me		
8	Osei	Aaaaah okay okay okay		
9	Uncle Ato	Ehe so what are you call me about		
		What it is this time		
10	Osei	Errm Uncle then (giggle) then uncle can I call you collect now		

The characters' names portray the characters as from the Akan culture, and specifically from particular ethnic groups. 'Ato' comes from the Fante ethnic group. In the Fante dialect of Akan it means a male born on a Saturday. 'Osei' is used by the Asante ethnic group as a first or last name. The address form 'uncle' placed before 'Ato' reveals the relationship between the characters - typical of the Akan matrilineal system (Ikuenobe 2006). 'Uncle' in the interaction suggests either of the following: an older male acquaintance who is not a blood relation or a male blood relation from the maternal side. 'Uncle' can therefore work as a deferential title in some cases as in the use of 'Auntie Seamstress' or index the practice of dependency within the Akan culture. In the Akan culture, uncles are responsible for their nephews' and nieces' upkeep. The producer's view indicates the possibility of both interpretations as the focus was on the uncle dependency concept to reach out to both the 'survivors' and traders:

MTN Pay-For-Me producer

Producer: LSM 1 or below you know your your shoeshine boy or your truck pushers you know they are the ones who've come to the urban towns to try and get some okay so they are your survivors (.) your traders would be your you know the Abossey Okai spare parts dealers the people who do a lot of buying and selling the people who own shops and stuff (.) okay in fact you would probably find the survivor³⁵ and the trader in the same place the trader will be the owner of the shop the survivor will be the attendant who comes to sell in the shop (.) you get the difference so those were the two target for Pay-For-Me (.) now Pay-For Me is targeted at them because really the survivor is not somebody who has extra cash lying around that

³⁵Refers to a poor or struggling worker.

he can talk on credit so he's the one who needs to do a lot of calls (.) traders because yes they are usually the ones that you know they are the ones you know how we have this whole I'm the wofa <uncle> so I look after my my nephews and nieces so you know I'll take care of you (.) people say oh flash me I will call you don't waste your credits (.) flash me I will call you so they we wanted to appeal to that sense that innate sense of oh yes I am looking after my nephews and nieces and so yeah

Uncle Ato is therefore portrayed as having some responsibilities towards Osei, as well as being better positioned with enough money to pay for collect-calls.

5.5.1 Summary

In this section, I have discussed the use of address forms and naming conventions in relation to their interactional functions in the adverts. They are used to convey certain social characteristics of characters, such as their ethnicity and age, as well as the relationships that obtain between characters. The compression of social and interpersonal information within single words and phrases contributes to the development of characters and plots for easy and rapid recognition by Ghanaian listeners, particularly in relation to the short durations of the mini-dramas.

5.6 *Interactional features: fillers and pragmatic markers*

In this section, I discuss the use of interactional features that relate to the design of informal spoken interaction between characters in the adverts. Actual informal spoken interaction is characterised by features such as overlaps, pauses, hesitations and dysfluencies, repetitions and restarts, and fillers (or filled pauses), associated with its unplanned nature – the fact that it is constructed in the act of speaking; and also by what have been termed pragmatic markers – features that

indicate surprise, emphasis etc. Some, but not all of these are evident in the adverts. Overlaps for instance do not occur, probably because they would make speech unclear. There are also limited dysfluencies, noticeable pauses or repetitions. Again these might make speech unclear and would also take up time in the context of very brief interactions. However pragmatic markers occur in several adverts. In §4.2.2, I discussed the use of pragmatic markers, mentioned by one producer as an aspect of natural talk or as he put it ‘spoken language’. I examine their use in the advertising texts below. I also discuss the occasional use of fillers, or filled pauses.

Pragmatic markers convey information about the intentions, emotions, and attitudes of speakers (Carter and McCarthy, 2006), contributing to both characterisation and plot development in the adverts. In the two cases in which observation was carried out of production (§4.3), pragmatic markers were not scripted, but were designed off-the-cuff by the voice artistes.

In the boutique video-calling scenario (see MTN video-calling advert below) pragmatic markers are used by Jane and Elsie to mark them as educated bilinguals:

Sample extract 5.14 – MTN Video-calling advert

Turn	Voice	Speech
3	Jane	Hello ei <exclamation of surprise> you Elsie whose room are you in
4	Elsie	Jane, no I am in a boutique's changing room Well what do you think of this dress
5	Jane	Where which dress
7	Elsie	The one I am wearing
8	Jane	Ok ok you move your phone around and let me see

- 9 Elsie The shop attendant thinks this is the dress for the dinner
- 10 Jane ((laughter))
- Girl that's not a dress it's a nightgown
- You know what try the yellow dress it looks perfect for you
- It's more done the seams are refined and its better than all the others
- 11 Elsie Ei <pragmatic marker> fashion police are you sure
- 12 Jane Yeah oh Elsie you paa <pragmatic marker> the yellow dress is the best
of them all

'Paa' in 'you paa' (Turn 12) is a pragmatic marker used for emphasis (in Akan) meaning 'a lot, the very one' (Dako 2003:163). In this context, Elsie's fashion sense is a point of emphasis. 'Ei' (Turns 3 and 11) is also used by both friends as a pragmatic marker indicating an 'exclamation of surprise' (Dako, 2003:82). This is a generic pragmatic marker as it is used in most Ghanaian local languages. Elsie and Jane's use of 'paa' and 'ei' projects them as bilinguals who have a good command of English but intuitively use pragmatic markers from their mother tongue.

Similarly, 'paa' is used by the lead character, Nana Atakora Koduah in the Global Access advert:

Sample extract 5.15 – Global Access

Turn	Voice	Speech	Translation
5	Nana Koduah	Nana paa na nka mereye agu m'anim ase saa no hɛɛ hmmhmm ((giggling)) twa me Global Access Moneygram w'ate m'ɛkyɛwo adeɛ	Was I Nana really just about to disgrace myself Hmmhmm ((giggling)) make sure you send it via Global Access Moneygram I will give you a present

'Paa' in Turn 5 above, indicates 'the very one' (Dako *ibid.*) emphasising himself. As observed during production (4.3), 'paa' was not in the original script (Appendix 7, original Global Access script). It was an off-the-cuff design incorporated during the recording process and the use of free translation (§4.3.3.4).

In the UBA advert (§5.3), the inclusion of pragmatic markers such as 'ooh', 'eh' and 'ah' in Turns 1, 3 and 4 by both characters conveys their emotional disposition and relationships. Kojo's use of 'ooh' in conjunction with 'sweetheart' suggests an endearment to persuade his wife to hurry up. 'Ooo/ooh' is an intensifier in Akan, meaning 'indeed, truly/not at all' (Dako, *ibid*:159). 'Eh' shows some degree of impatience and this is used by both characters in Turns 1 and 4. In the UT advert, the young man's use of the pragmatic marker 'eh' in Turn 2 differs from that in the UBA advert. It functions as a conveyor of the young man's stance and a request for affirmation in relation to the directions he is providing. Kojo's use of 'Ah' in Turn 3 of the UBA advert indicates a level of surprise for the unexpected response.

Likewise, in the MTN Pay-For-Me advert, Uncle Ato and Osei use 'ehe' and 'aaaah' respectively to convey more interactional information:

Sample extract 5.16 –MTN Pay-For-Me

Turn	Voice	Speech	Translation
3	Uncle Ato	Good morning	
4	Osei	Aaaah it's me Osei	
5	Uncle Ato	Ehe errr Osei what happened to you yesterday	
6	Osei	Sorry about that Uncle my credit wasn't much that is why	
7	Uncle Ato	Oh Osei you could have just told me Aden na woantwa mi collect Why didn't you make a collect call to me Eh Osei you could have made a collect call to me with errr MTN Pay-For-Me	Why didn't you make a collect call to me
8	Osei	Aaaaah okay okay okay	
9	Uncle Ato	Ehe so what are you call me about What it is this time	
10	Osei	Errm Uncle then (giggle) then uncle can I call you collect now	

'Ehe' (Turns 5 and 9) functions as a reminder adding to 'Osei what happened yesterday' to indicate prior agreement with Osei. 'Aaaah' is an Akan 'intensifier' (Dako, 2003:7) used here to indicate sudden remembrance. In Turn 4 it suggests a sudden remembrance of not identifying himself and therefore affirms his identity. In Turn 8, it is a realisation a sudden remembrance – of failing to make the connection to the service as a solution to his problem (lack of credit).

Filled pauses such as 'errr' or 'uhmm' occur occasionally in the adverts. The secretary's use of 'errr', in the ADB advert shows hesitation, perhaps a response to being pressurised to quicken her pace of work:

Sample extract 5.17 – ADB advert

Turn	Voice	Speech
1	SFX	Phone rings
2	Boss	Hello Joanne, make it snappy I have to run You know it's a Friday
3	Joanne	Sir errr just to update you on your schedule
4	Boss	Mm-hm

In Sample extract 5.15, 'Errr', (used by Uncle Ato, Turn 5), 'errmm' (used by Osei, Turn 10) act as fillers in the interaction. 'Errr' and 'errmm' both carry varying notions of hesitation in the talk as the characters search for the right words to use, as also shown in the busy boss-secretary interaction. In Turn 5, Uncle Ato used 'errr' just before naming the product suggesting some form of hesitation as he thinks of the possible solution to Osei's problem. In Turn 9, 'Errrm' prefaces Osei's request to Uncle Ato to allow him to make a collect call which indicates his hesitation about making the request.

5.6.1 Summary

In this section I have discussed the use of interactional features that are characteristic of the kinds of informal talk the adverts seek to represent. These occur to some extent in the adverts, but much more rarely than in naturally-occurring spoken interaction. Some features, for example overlaps, do not occur at all. Those that do, such as pragmatic markers and fillers, do not occur in all

adverts and where they occur in an advert they are relatively sparse compared to actual conversations.

My observations of adverts suggest these features are not scripted but inserted, intuitively, during the production process. The inclusion of such features may seem to be unhelpful – as wasting time in the context of very brief interactions where it is important to get across the message of the adverts rapidly and clearly. However they do add to the meaning of the adverts and may be an economical way of indicating emotion and stance (surprise, awkwardness in making a request, etc.).

While producers do not talk specifically about these features and (as above) they are not scripted, producers do talk about the need to represent speech effectively, for example, as indicated by the Global Access producer. Features such as pragmatic markers and fillers may have this function (§4.2.2). The occasional use of such features may therefore be seen to index naturally-occurring talk. Sometimes they stand out (e.g. prolonged oohs), but they are not features that would get in the way of clarity (e.g. there are no overlaps).

5.7 Code-switching between languages and language varieties

My analysis of the sub-corpus of slice-of-life adverts discussed in Chapter 3 (§3.3.4) showed that the most commonly-used languages in the mini-dramas were English, Akan and Pidgin (Tables 3.7 and 3.8). While some adverts used only English a large number used more than one language (usually English and Akan, or English and Pidgin), with practices varying across radio stations. Producers' accounts and production processes also revealed the relevance of language choice in the adverts (§4.2.3 & 4.3.3.4). Main motivations identified by producers

were to present adverts primarily in the language of understanding of their target audiences and also to reflect the target audiences' linguistic practices.

In the sample of 14 adverts analysed in this chapter, bilingual adverts (see Table 5.1, §5.2) involved some form of code-switching between languages, and English adverts sometimes included local Ghanaian forms of English. Following Myers-Scotton (1992) I refer to all such alternation between languages and varieties as code-switching, irrespective of the form this took (e.g. whether the switching involved individual words or pragmatic markers, or switching between clauses within or across turns). I discuss these practices further below. Two patterns of code-switching were identified in the adverts: brand naming conventions and conversational switching.

Code-switching in brand naming is framed by external circumstances, where brand guidelines lead to the need for alternation between two languages. The italicised parts of brand names such as MTN *Pay-For-Me*, MTN *Video-calling*, Yammi Gari *Mix*, Chocho *Beauty Soap* and Chocho *Beauty Cream* could be translated into a Ghanaian local language but these are maintained in English where they occur in local language adverts. Interestingly, in the Chocho Beauty Cream advert (Appendix 8) the product name is translated into Akan as 'Chocho nkuu' (cream, Turn 16) in the jingle accompanying the dialogue. However in inter-character talk, brand details are maintained in English:

Sample extract 5.18 – Chocho Beauty Soap and Cream advert

Turn	Voice	Speech	Translation
4	Auntie seamstress	Ei na wo deɛ efiri dabɛn na wo twaa wo kaba na ɛkɔɔ fɔm	<exclamation of surprise> since when did you start wearing low cut blouse to even have it extended
5	Female client	Wo hwɛ adeɛ paa ooo Chocho Beauty Soap ɛne Chocho Beauty Cream asiesie me ankasa	You are really observant ooo Chocho Beauty Soap and Chocho Beauty Cream has really beautified me
16	Chorus	Chocho soap ɛne Chocho nkuu na me use	Chocho soap and Chocho cream is what I use

In the Yammi Gari Mix advert (§5.4, Sample Extract 5.8 & Appendix 8), brand details and slogan are maintained in English (Turn 20) by both characters as 'Ever ready for soakings'³⁶. The slogan occurs within a dialogue which is predominantly Akan with English. Such a design simultaneously attempts to create authenticity and follow the brand guidelines which are normally set out by the client as in the case of Vista (Appendix 6, Call Report 1).

Contributing to the idea of slice-of-life is the use of conversational code-switching. Examples in the adverts include both English with switches to Akan and Akan with switches to English (§3.3.4 & §5.2, Table 5.1). The producers classify such adverts as either English or Akan although they include two languages. The

³⁶ Soakings in this instance is a Ghanaianism – a meal prepared by mixing a biscuit or gari (cassava product) with water, milk and sugar.

language identified by producers forms the matrix language in Myers-Scotton's terms (e.g. Myers-Scotton, 2006).

In §5.6, I examined the use of local-language pragmatic markers in English adverts and how these contributed to characterisation and plot development. Pragmatic markers used are a mix of local and generic forms (§5.6). Akan pragmatic markers can add a local 'flavour' to an English advert. Pragmatic markers such as 'ei', 'paa', 'oooh/ooo', aaaah, 'paa' in the MTN Video-calling, UBA, and MTN Pay-For-Me English adverts are examples of English with occasional African particles which index characters as educated Ghanaians. In §4.2.3, Producers suggested that the use of English conveyed information about the educational background and communication skills of the characters as well as of the audience for the adverts. However it is typical for educated Ghanaians to use the pragmatic markers of their mother tongues in what is seen as an English conversation. Producers have an awareness of such bilingual practices (§4.2.3. & §4.3.3.4). Nevertheless, as discussed in §5.6, these switches are not scripted and are designed off-the-cuff by the voice artistes during the recording process following the intuitions of the voice artistes.

Akan with English sometimes takes the form of whole phrase and clause switching as seen in the stranger to stranger interaction for the Unique Trust advert (§5.3 & Sample Extract 5.19):

Sample extract 5.19 – Unique Trust advert

Turn	Voice	Speech	Translation
2	Young man	<p>Aaah okay, follow this gutter eh to the down lane. Turn right and take the extreme left pass through the lungu lungu bi no a ewo hɔnɔ and look out for the Ghana flag on some sign board eh. W'ahu, wo duru hɔ right there no you will see a lady selling roasted plantains bi wo hɔ no wo deɛ bisa no</p>	<p>Aaah okay, follow this gutter eh to the down lane. Turn right and take the extreme left pass through the series of detours and look out for the Ghana flag on some sign board eh. You see when you get there right there you will see a lady selling roasted plantains at that place just ask her.</p>

Switching at the level of phrases and clauses, as portrayed here, is a common bilingual practice in Ghana. Such practice is associated with particular speakers (educated or semi-educated) and settings (urban/cosmopolitan: such alternation between English and Akan is rarely used in rural settings according to Arthur-Shoba and Quarcoo, 2012). So in this advert, this contributes to characterisation as well as establishing the setting as an urban/cosmopolitan one.

English with Akan code-switching occurs in the uncle-nephew interaction in the MTN Pay-For-Me advert (§5.5):

Sample extract 5.20 – MTN Pay-For-Me advert

Turn	Voice	Speech	Translation	Sound effects
1				Phone rings
2	Osei	Hello good morning Uncle Ato		
3	Uncle	Good morning Ato		
4	Osei	Aaaah it's me Osei		
5	Uncle	Ehe errr Osei what happened Ato to you yesterday		
6	Osei	Sorry about that Uncle my credit wasn't much that is why		
7	Uncle	Oh Osei you could have just Ato told me Aden na woantwa mi collect Why didn't you make a collect call to me Eh Osei you could have made a collect cal to me with errr MTN Pay-For-Me	Why didn't you make a collect call to me	
8	Osei	Aaaaah okay okay okay		
9	Uncle	Ehe so what are you call me Ato about What it is this time		
10	Osei	Errm Uncle then (giggle) then uncle can I call you collect now		

Although this is referred to by the producer as an English advert, it includes switches to Akan: the local pragmatic markers (discussed above), and the use of

the Akan/English clause: 'Aden na woantwa mi collect', followed by its equivalent in English (Turn 7). The use of an Akan clause in an English conversation indexes the Uncle as not just educated (in his use of English) but from an Akan (Fante) culture (§5.5) with bilingual communication skills typical of this culture and familiar to the audience, also bilingual in English and Akan. The repetition of the clause in English adds emphasis: here it emphasises the solution to Osei's problem. In terms of advertising production, the use of this kind of repetition reflects the tension between temporal constraints (the cost of advertising and the requirement to keep adverts short) and the need to sound real, discussed in §4.3.3.2. This occasional use of such switching is indexical of a more widespread interactional practice (so contributes to 'naturalness') as well as conveying pragmatic meaning in its own terms.

Occasional single-word switches into English occur in some Akan adverts. This is illustrated with the uncle - nephew interaction:

Sample extract 5.21 – MTN Pay-For-Me (Akan version)

Turn	Name	Speech	Translation
4	Osei	Me pa akyew eyɛ me Osei	Please this is Osei
5	Uncle Ato	Ehee Osei na enora ebaano sen?	Yeah Osei what happened yesterday
6	Osei	Wofa mesɛwoaa wei deɛ fakye me Na me credit no endɔɔso eno ntia	Uncles please forgive me for this I didn't have enough credit That is why
7	Uncle Ato	Ah Osei paa ɛna wo anka ankyere me Aden na woantwa mi collect ɛwɔ sɛ nka wofɛ me wɔ MTN Pay- for-me so	Ah Osei why didn't you tell me Why didn't you make collect call You should have called me with MTN Pay-for-me

'Credit' (Turn 6) and 'collect' (Turn 7) in the Akan version above remain in English as the Akan equivalents would require a long translation which would not be a depiction of natural Ghanaian talk. In addition a longer translation would mean loss of time which producers cannot afford.

Similarly, English numbers are found in Akan adverts as in Chocho Beauty Cream (Appendix 8):

Sample extract 5.22 – Chocho Beauty Soap and Cream advert

Turn	Voice	Speech	Translation
13	Auntie seamstress	Saa drugstore ene pharmacy shop nyinaa mu wobanya bi Wope dodoɔ mpo a fre 0244727348 ene 0244528736 Chocho	Yes you can get some from all drugstores and pharmacy shops Even if it is for wholesale call 0244727348 and 0244528736 Chocho

There are certain expressions that the producers consider as a general Ghanaian linguistic practice irrespective of particular educational background and social groups. The producer of MTN Pay-For-Me advert explained that it is difficult to get interactions where people use Akan words for the numbers in normal talk involving telephone numbers and monetary references.

Adverts in English sometimes include local Ghanaian forms, termed ‘Ghanaianisms’ (§4.3.3.4 & §5.2; Dako, 2003). The use of ‘sentence’ by Uncle Ato (Appendix 8, MTN Pay-For-Me Akan, Turn 9), in ‘Charley compose me a sentence’ is a Ghanaianism where ‘sentence’ is extended to mean ‘say something or start talking or give me information’. ‘Charley’ likewise is a Ghanaianism serving as an ‘appellation to friend or acquaintance’ (Dako, 2003:57). In the scenario depicted in the advert the use of ‘Charley’ shows a friendly relationship between the characters. It may also indicate this is a non-kinship relationship despite the reference to Ato as ‘Uncle’ (see earlier discussion on the use of the address form ‘Uncle’ as a possible non-kinship relationship, §5.5).

Code-switching between Pidgin and English (§2.6) is found in only one advert in the sample: the interaction between friends in the Interplast PVC Pipes advert (§4.2.3, §5.3 & Appendix 8). An extract is reproduced below:

Sample extract 5.23 - Interplast PVC Pipes advert

Turn	Voice	Speech	Translation
1	Atongo	Ei Hotman ei (laughter) Hotman <i>ibi</i> you <i>bi dis</i> ?	Pragmatic marker for excitement/surprise Hotman Hotman is that really you?
2	Hotman	Atongo bi dat Where you go dey	Atongo is that you Where have you been
3	Atongo	Hmm I go dey America and Europe small wey I attend Obama inauguration then I go supply water for Michael Jackson funeral	Hmm I have been in America and Europe for a while and I attended Obama's inauguration and then I went to supply water for Michael Jackson's funeral
4	Hotman	Eiii Atongo the diplomat bi that ooo I go fit trust you	Pragmatic marker for excitement that is Atongo the diplomat Can I believe you
5	Atongo	Ooh see I even get contract to lay pipes to Afghanistan, Iraq, Somalia, Palestine	Look I even have a contract to lay pipes to Afghanistan, Iraq, Somalia, Palestine
6	Hotman	Eiiii the great Atongo make I believe you	Pragmatic marker for excitement the great Atongo should I believe you
7	Atongo	Oooh yes you forget say I tell you say ibi only Interplast PVC and HDPE pipes wey i fit stand atomic bombs	Oooh have you forgotten I told you that only Interplast PVC and HDPE pipes can withstand atomic bombs
8	Hotman	Atongo my man	That is my friend Atongo

Turn	Voice	Speech	Translation
9	Atongo	And see like everybody for America and Europe use Interplast pipes then ma economy no go leave for excursion	If all the people in America and Europe had used Interplast pipes then their economy would not have left for an excursion
10	Hotman	Oh Atongo ibi recession i no bi excursion	Oh Atongo it is recession and not excursion

In §4.2.3, the producers’ talk indicated that Pidgin was used for rapport building and as indexical of three social groups: the youth, students and blue-collar workers. However there are two varieties of Pidgin spoken in Ghana. These are used differently and have slightly different social meanings. One variety is spoken in secondary schools and tertiary campuses (‘educated GhaPE’) and the other in town³⁷ (‘uneducated GhaPE’see Dako 2002a:53 & 1999; Huber 1999). Educated Ghanaian Pidgin is used in highly informal contexts and between friends and colleagues. Uneducated Ghanaian Pidgin functions mainly as a ‘lingua franca’ in a multilingual urban environment (Pipkins, 2004; Dako, 2002a & Huber 1999). Atongo and Hotman are portrayed as blue-collar workers (4.2.3), however the Pidgin they use lacks the indigenous lexical items typical of Pidgin ‘spoken in town’. They also draw on lexical items that are typical of Standard English rather than Pidgin use (Dako, 2002a): ‘recession’, ‘inauguration’, ‘economy’, ‘supply’, ‘international’, ‘excursions’. The Pidgin used here is closer to Standard English, thereby signalling speakers from a highly educated background. It is difficult to

³⁷ ‘Town’ refers to the life outside the school campuses.

indicate where 'English' stops and 'Pidgin' begins and it may be better to regard this as a mixed variety.

The Pidgin used in the Interplast advert functions as a solidarity marker and flags a form of friendship between Atongo and Hotman. Along with English it could also serve as a lingua franca given the ethnicity of Atongo as a Northerner and Hotman as possibly a non-Northerner. However, the language does not signal all of the producers' target audiences. The intention of the producer as intimated is to target all those involved in building and construction projects (Table 3.10, §3.4.4). Such people have diverse educational backgrounds and this might possibly hinder their understanding of the GhaPE version used here. The Pidgin as used here indicates possible elite project owners or highly educated contractors, not as generic a group as the producer intimated.

5.7.1 Summary

In this section, I have addressed the use of code-switching in the adverts following on from discussions with producers of this practice considered in §4.2.3 and §4.3.3.4. I have identified the use of two forms of code-switching: brand naming conventions and conversational switching.

The use of switching in some brand names occurs in order to maintain brand guidelines, as indicated in the producers' comments.

Conversational switching takes different forms. I discussed switching between English and Akan at the level of pragmatic particles (Akan pragmatic particles inserted into English dialogue); whole phrase and clause switching; and switching at the level of individual words (the occasional use of English words in Akan dialogue). I also considered switching between Pidgin and English where the

boundaries between varieties are less clear-cut, and the use of local forms of English ('Ghanaianisms') in English adverts. Sometimes switches have a pragmatic effect within the dialogue (the use of pragmatic particles, the repetition of an Akan clause in English) but I have suggested that the main function of switching in the adverts is indexical: to convey social and cultural information about the characters such as educational and ethnic background; and to indicate the nature of inter-character relationships. They also represent actual multilingual practices and may make the dialogue sound more 'natural'. As discussed in Chapter 4 producers are able to reflect on such usages and they seem to be strategic, to conform to multilingual practices associated with the target audiences for the adverts.

5.8 Summary and conclusion

This chapter set out to answer the question: what are the textual characteristics of slice-of-life adverts? I identified certain textual characteristics from the sample adverts considered in §5.2 and listed in Table 5.1. The analysis of these advertising texts was informed by my discussion with the producers, considered in Chapter 4.

I identified certain characteristics of the 'slice-of-life' adverts that contributed to the representation of everyday stories, people and events designed to be familiar to, and appeal to, particular target audiences. These included the identification of socially-recognisable scenes and the use of a number of textual features to depict these scenes: sound effects and paralinguistic, address forms and naming conventions, interactional features, and code-switching between languages and language varieties. All these, in combination, contribute to the portrayal of Ghanaian multilingual and socio-cultural realities. They need to do so

within mini-dramas of very short duration, following the production constraints discussed in §4.3.3.2. This is a form of compressed storytelling (Cook, 2001; Bell, 1992) drawing on the use of features that convey adequate information to contribute to the rapid recognition of slice-of-life scenarios.

The textual features mentioned above have different, complementary functions. Sound effects (§5.4) contribute to the recognition of settings, they sometimes represent the product and on one occasion they extend the narrative and represent an absent character (the driver in the UBA advert). Paralanguage or non-verbal vocalisations (§5.4), here laughter, depict the emotional state and mood of the characters and the relationship between characters. Address forms (§5.5), interactional features such as pragmatic markers and fillers (§5.6) and code-switching between languages and language varieties (§5.7) also convey information about characters and settings, for instance characters' ethnicity and educational background, and the relationships between characters. Not all these features were explicitly addressed by producers. Interactional features, in particular, seem not to be deliberately designed into the text: my observations of the production of two adverts indicate that in these cases such features were not scripted but added later, probably intuitively. However they are consistent with the producers' desire to produce interactions that sound natural and correspond to their audience's experiences.

These findings show a different pattern from Martins' (2003:102) analysis of *Rainbow City* radio drama in Nigeria, which reveals that characters are not portrayed with 'ethnic or religious features' but rather as Nigerians. In the case of the mini-dramas recognisable traits relating to ethnicity are conveyed in address

forms, naming conventions and code-switching practices contributing to more specific characterisation, consistent with the depiction of slice-of-life.

The interplay of the advertising texts with recognisable real life linguistic practices is more pronounced within these radio adverts than in print adverts (see Higgins, 2009; Hmensa, 2009). The construction of recognisable characters and events shows the use of typical multilingual practices such as patterns of conversational code-switching which are not evident in print adverts particularly in newspapers as discussed in Hmensa (2009).

The discussion in this chapter shows how designed indexicality is realised in the output of the design process – the advert itself.

In the next chapter, I focus on the target audiences' interpretations of the sample adverts.

6 Listeners' accounts of their reception of adverts

6.1 Introduction

I mentioned in Chapter 2 that although there is a substantial body of work on media reception (Staiger, 2005), few studies in applied linguistics have focused on audiences' responses to adverts. Amongst those that do, questionnaires are commonly used (for example, Haarman, 1989; Reynolds, 2004; Kelly, 1995). In this study, by contrast, I worked with focus groups in contexts designed, as far as was possible, to reflect habitual listening environments (see Chapter 3 and below). Having considered producers' accounts of their adverts and advertising practices, production processes, and the adverts themselves, I now turn to audience responses elicited in focus group discussion. This completes the multi-perspectived discourse analytic approach to radio advertising adopted in this study, providing a focus on the advertising process from the conception and design of adverts through to their reception (see §3.2).

I assess audience interpretations of slice-of-life adverts to answer the third research question (§1.2): how do the target listening audience respond to such adverts? I use the term 'listening audience' in contrast to the imagined audience that preoccupies producers. However the characteristics of the listening audience, discussed further below, correspond to the producers' description of the target audience for their adverts (§3.4.4, Table 3.8; §6.1.1, Table 6.1). I analyse audience responses in relation to the themes that emerged from the analyses of production and advertising texts, discussed in Chapters 4 and 5. I continue the

exploration of designed indexicality, considering the extent to which listeners' perceptions relate to the features designed into the adverts by producers.

6.1.1 The listening audience

Table 3.10 (§3.4.4) showed the composition of the focus groups in the study. For ease of reference I reproduce this as Table 6.1 below. The focus groups were designed to be representative of the target audience for the radio stations: what Kelly (1995:245) terms the 'pre-determined' rather than 'accidental or coincidental' audience (§3.4.4).

Table 6.1 Focus group details

Advert	Focus groups	Number of participants	Relationship between participants	Physical setting	Target audience	Duration of discussions in minutes
United Bank of Africa (UBA) English version	FG1	4	Family and friends	Home	Young executives	8.59
Akan version	FG2	4	Work colleagues and family	Retail store	Semi/uneducated business owners	6.47
MTN Video Calling English	FG3	4	Family	Home	Elite and young people	8.31
Agricultural Development Bank (ADB) English version	FG4	4	Family	Home	Elite	8.29
Akan version	FG5	4	Work colleagues and friends	Retail store	Semi-literates and uneducated	9.30
Yammi Gari Mix	FG6	4	Family	Home	Students and everybody	8.45
Akan	FG7	4	Work colleagues and friends	Retail store		9.58
Chocho Cream and Soap Akan	FG8	4	Work colleagues and friends	Retail store	Everybody	7.19
Vista Paper English	FG9	5	Work colleagues	Office	Users of printers, photocopiers, schools, bookshops	25.05
Interplast PVC pipes Pidgin	FG10	6	Work colleagues, friends and family	Construction site	Contractors, technical construction workers and project owners	30.24
Global Access Money	FG11	5	Work colleagues,	Retail store	People with relatives or	32.01

Advert	Focus groups	Number of participants	Relationship between participants	Physical setting	Target audience	Duration of discussions in minutes
Transfer Akan			family and friends		friends abroad	
MTN Pay-For-Me Service English version	FG12	5	Work colleagues, family and friends	Office	'Achievers' (CEOs and the elites)	44.12
Akan version	FG13	6	Work colleagues, family and friends	Construction site	Traders, 'survivors' (shop assistants, truck pushers, labourers)	41.17
Unique Trust Financial Service Akan and English	FG 14	5	Work colleagues, family and friends	Retail store	Small Medium Enterprises	30.24

In all the settings a shared radio set was a permanent fixture. The composition of the focus groups reflected the diverse backgrounds of the target audiences, and the settings in which they met reflected the types of shared listening environment within which radio adverts are habitually received, as discussed in §3.4.4. The groups therefore replicated a pre-existing listening practice and positioned participants in a natural listening environment as much as possible, contrasting with the 'artificial' environments evident in other focus group research, for instance a university seminar room.

As mentioned earlier (§3.4.4) I noticed that focus groups 1 to 8 gave relatively short responses to my questions (see Table 6.1), so for groups 9-14 I amended my moderation style. Moderation within groups 9 to 14 was minimal: with less moderation, participants talked more about the adverts (§3.4.4). Listeners' discussion in these groups covered most of the issues I had intended to question so the reduction in moderation did not have a negative effect on focus group discussions. As I show in the analysis, discussions on certain issues (for e.g. language use) were set off by the participants without my questioning.

The adaptation of listening practices for the selection of focus groups produced 'the great strength of focus groups as a technique [...] in the liveliness, complexity and unpredictability of the talk, where participants can make sudden connections that confuse the researchers' coding but open up their thinking' (Myers and Macnaghten, 1999:175). Moreover the use of focus groups based on the habitual shared listening practice of radio users (§3.4.4) allowed me to examine listeners' collaborative interpretative processes (Talmy, 2011; §6.7).

6.2 Major themes identified in focus group discussions

In Chapter 4, the producers' accounts reveal a pattern of designing slice-of-life adverts that the audience is intended to identify with and relate to, using resources that simultaneously index varying aspects of the characterisation and correspond to the audiences' social realities. This design process reflects producers' intentions to achieve approximations of 'real life'. Similar themes emerged in focus group members' interpretations of the mini-dramas: participants highlighted the recognisability of scenes depicted in the adverts (referring to the events that took place and the characters involved), and how these corresponded to their own experiences. They also demonstrated their familiarity with the languages and linguistic practices evident in the adverts, in particular:

- recognising that characters are speaking a particular language (for example Akan or English) and the relevance of this for listeners' understanding.
- recognising the sociocultural associations of the language (for example the association between English and educatedness).
- recognising certain language practices and their related associations (for example an association between code-switching and young adults)

In all cases of talk about the sample adverts, participants refer to associations between aspects of culture, and social or ethnic groups, and the use of particular languages and language practices. These points are discussed further below.

Although the participants' interpretations of language choice and linguistic practices reflect the design decisions made by producers, perhaps unsurprisingly

participants talk about these in general terms: they do not identify specific textual features such as those discussed in Chapter 5.

In analysing participants' accounts of the adverts, their use of collaborative interpretation is also explored in line with the argument that talk in focus groups corresponds in some ways to radio audiences' habitual shared listening practices (§6.1, Talmy, 2011).

6.3 *The recognition of 'socially-recognisable scenes'*

When prompted with a general question about an advert they have listened to (for details of what they have to say about the advert, see Appendix 5) focus group members referred consistently to their recognition of the scenes depicted in the advert. They talked about this in terms of their familiarity with the scenes (that these are things they are aware of happening, or that could easily happen) and sometimes in terms of their own personal experience. This is consistent with producers' desires to produce realistic stories (§4.2.1 and 4.3.3.1) and with what I termed 'socially recognisable scenes' in the analysis of advertising texts (§5.3). As examples, the extracts below come from group discussions of the UBA advert (English and Akan versions) analysed in §5.3 and included in Appendix 8. Participants in the focus group discussing the English advert were young executives, as with the producers' target audience. They were related to each other (two brothers, the wife of the older brother and their niece) and shared a friendly relationship. The discussion was held in the home of the two brothers. The focus group for the Akan advert included semi/uneducated business owners, again consistent with the audience targeted by the producers (see Table 6.1). The group comprised of four retail business owners. Their businesses were in adjoining shops in a commercial area and the group discussion was held in the shop of one

of the participants. The participants all shared a working relationship. Two of them also had a shared family relationship as sisters in law.

The Akan group had this to say about the scene depicted in the advert:

Extract 6.1

P 6: FG UBA Akan.rtf - 6:1 (64:77)

64 Joe And it is also good because giving [lifts

65 Aku [Yeah

66 Joe When you are offered a lift one two three times people get fed up with you

67 Aku It's true

68 All ((laughter))

69 Joe Even you

70 Aku It is true so if you get your own car it makes you get to your destination quickly

71 Nana A gentleman usually gives me a lift (.) so this morning when I got a trotro
 <commercial minibus> which was coming straight here I said thank you Lord
 because I usually feel embarrassed

72 Aku So are you embarrassed

73 Nana Whenever he sees me he wants to give me a lift so when I got the trotro I was fast
<quick> with it

74 Nana [fast enough to board it to this place

75 Aku [fast enough to board it to this place (.) So in five years if you try [hard

76 Joe [You can pay up

77 Aku If you try hard you can even finish paying up before five years

In Turns 66 and 70, Joe and Aku show recognition of the scene, showing a young couple who need a lift to get to work where the wife at least finds this

unsatisfactory. Both refer to the problems of lift-sharing as a general truth using generic *you*: if you get lifts 'people get fed up with you', and if you have your own car 'you get to your destination quickly'. In drawing on what they present as a general truth, both participants accept and extend the points made in the advert (neither the drama nor the voice-over mentioned people getting fed up with you or arriving more quickly).

It is not clear whether Joe or Aku are referring to something they have experienced directly as they make no claims about this. Another participant, Nana, however, does link the scene to her own experience with lifts. She extends the advert with a supplementary narrative of personal experience (Turns 71, 73-4) and provides a further point to the story: her embarrassment at getting a lift.

Aku supports Nana's point with a question (Turn 72) and an overlap with repetition (Turn 75). Aku and Joe then suggest Nana could pay back a loan easily, linking her narrative back to the advert and reinforcing the point of the advert.

The discussion suggests that participants are familiar with and sympathetic to the problems faced by the protagonists in the drama, and can relate these to their own real-world knowledge and experience. At 10 seconds, this is the briefest of the mini-dramas but the participants themselves elaborate it and provide further motivations for taking out a loan to buy a car.

Participants discussing the English version of the advert, while from different social backgrounds, were also able to link their knowledge and experience with the scene depicted:

Extract 6.2

P 2: FG UBA English.rtf - 2:2 (31:40)

31 Afra **You think the concept is a typical situation**

32 Yoni Hmmm

33 Kofi But

34 Yoni For those of us in Accra predominantly

35 Doris Hmmm

36 Yoni Because if you go outside Accra you don't have that hassle [in

37 Doris [Rina do you

38 Yoni In getting a car in [joining

39 Rina [Hell no ((laughs))

40 Yoni **So it's cut out for those in Accra**

Yoni comments that it shows a typical situation 'for those of us who live in Accra predominantly', contrasting this with the situation 'if you go outside Accra'. Doris brings in Rina, who works in a peri-urban town in Ghana and who agrees with this assessment (Turn 39). Although the group relate the advert to their experience their response also seems more analytical, with Yoni commenting on who the advert is relevant to, rather than identifying with the situation depicted. Yoni refers explicitly to the advert as a designed text: 'it's cut out for those in Accra' (Turn 40).

In Extract 6.3 below, Yoni puts himself in the role of the male protagonist but this is an imagined position ('I was just picturing me being the guy') and he relates this to an evaluation of the advert: 'I found it very interesting ... I like the advert from that angle':

Extract 6.3

P 2: FG UBA English.rtf - 2:5 (75:83)

81 Yoni ((laughter)) Me I was just picturing me being the guy and my wife putting pressure on me that we have to buy a car we can afford it

82 All ((laughter))

83 Yoni So I found it very interesting so I like the advert from that angle.
Yeah some some humour bit.

The UBA Akan group responded similarly when I asked them to evaluate the advert:

Extract 6.4

P 6: FG UBA Akan.rtf - 6:3 (117:135)

117 Afra Do you think this is a good ad (.) if it's good or not feel free to talk about it

118 Ben Oh the way it is done is good

119 Joe It's good they are telling us that it is not good to accept lifts. So each person should look for their own car

120 Ben It is much better than for another person to give you a lift everyday

121 Afra What do you think about the two characters they could have used just one person but they used a man and a [wife

122 Aku [But they have a way of doing it. That is good

123 Ben The way they did it they talked about a husband and wife who were looking for a lift and he asked the wife and she said she won't go with a lift and that they should by all means get their own car isn't it

124 Aku That is it

125 Ben For example if you and your wife are both working and you haven't been able to buy a car and she keeps reminding you that asking for lifts is getting too much

- 126 Joe [Yes too much
- 127 Ben [Yes too much
- 128 Afra Do you think it applies to you
- 129 All ((laughter))
- 130 Ben I have one that I use every day (.) it doesn't apply to me
- 131 All ((laughter continues))
- 132 Afra So
- 134 Joe So we just had an example from auntie <Nana cf. Extract 6.1> talking about
avoiding a lift today
- 135 Ben Yes

Here Ben comments (Turn 118) that 'the way it is done is good' and later talks through 'the way they did it' (Turn 123). In response to a question on audience, Ben comments that the advert does not apply to him and Joe identifies Nana's situation as an instance that is more relevant.

These contrasting groups both demonstrate familiarity with the scene depicted in the advert. The Akan group extend and elaborate the advert (with additional motivations for buying a car, with a narrative of personal experience). The English group do this less, though they do specify the context (relevant to life in Accra). Both groups talk about the advert as something designed for a particular audience. The fact that they reflect on the advert in this way may be related to the questions I asked (e.g. asking about the situation or for an evaluation of the advert).

The UBA advert represented a scene that included everyday characters and events. The scene was familiar to participants and related to some

participants' experiences more directly. On the other hand, the Global Access advert (§4.3.3.4 and Appendix 7) includes a more stereotypical portrayal of a boastful main character speaking from Amsterdam. While this was less likely to be within focus group members' direct experience, it was interpreted as familiar to them based on their generalised assumptions of the Ashanti returnee.

The Global Access focus group was formed drawing on five participants who had relatives or friends abroad as identified by the producer (Table 6.1). The participants had a pre-existing relationship as friends (shop supervisor and table top trader), family (mother and daughter) and work colleagues (shop assistant and shop owner). The discussion was conducted in a retail shop owned by one of the participants. Extract 6.5 below illustrates their discussion of the main character in the advert, Nana Kwadwo Atakora:

Extract 6.5

P 9: FG Global Access Akan.rtf - 9:5 (77:90)

- 77 Becky And he is portraying something like an Ashanti returnee
- 78 Tina Yeah returnee ((laughter))
- 79 Becky And an Ashanti returnee talks exactly like this
- 80 All ((Laughter xxx))
- 81 Tina ((laughter)) [Exactly exactly exactly
- 82 All (((laughter xxx))
- 83 Becky And as an Ashanti he wants to make it real so that is what he is doing
- 84 Tina An Ashanti returnee (.)grandson of the one who sits on the Golden Stool
((laughter))
- 85 Becky He did well (.)the way he did that one (.) it is just perfect
- 86 Kojo Yeah

- 87 Tina For that exactly exactly exactly
- 88 Becky The way he did it was just perfect
- 89 Akos Yeah it's true
- 90 Tina ((laughter)) Grandson of the one who sits on the Golden Stool ((laughter))

Becky shows an awareness of Nana as a designed character in her use of 'portraying' (Turn 77). She recognises the portrayal of Nana as an Ashanti returnee, the ethnicity intended by the producers (§4.3.3.3). She directly links the character's speech style to the Ashantis which is supported by Tina (Turn 81) amidst laughter and overlapping speech from all participants (Turns 80 and 82). Nana's boastful character is interpreted as a typical trait of the Ashanti returnee ethnic group. The group recognises these traits from his long introduction referring to his lineage and ethnicity which was constructed as a stereotype of the Ashantis (§4.3.3.4). Based on the naming conventions (§5.5) of the Ashantis (Turns 84 & 90) and Nana's grandiloquence, he is interpreted not just as an Ashanti but one linked to royalty (Turns 84 & 90). The Golden Stool is the symbolic power of the Ashanti royalty (Wilks, 1989; Lewin, 1978; Hagan, 1968). Reference to it here is an elaboration of the advert text, where this is not referred to explicitly (§4.3.3):

Extract 6.6 - Global Access final transcript

Turn	Voice	Speech	Translation
1	Nana Kojo Atakora	hwɛ yɛ-frɛ me Nana Kojo	My name is Nana Kojo
	Koduah	Atakora Koduah	Atakora Koduah
		Nana Koduah nana ne me	I am a grandchild of Nana Koduah

In the extract above, the link to royalty is drawn from the cultural meaning of being Ashantis to show their pride in their lineage as a grandchild of Nana Koduah. The interpretation of the character's identity emanates from the listeners' cultural perceptions of Ashanti returnees as boastful and the role of the Golden Stool as a symbol of Ashanti kingship. Participants are positioning the character as an object of humour as they take on and elaborate the stereotypical portrayal evident in the advert. While the interpretation shown here is constructed mainly by Becky and Tina it also receives interactional support from Akos and Kojo (Turn 86 & 89).

When asked if they have met people like the main character in the advert, participants comment that there are indeed such people:

Extract 6.7

P 9: FG Global Access Akan.rtf - 9:5 (102:107)

- | | |
|----------|---------------------------------------|
| 102 Afra | Have you met people like that before? |
| 103 Tina | Oh there are people like that |
| 104 Afra | mm-hm |
| 105 Kojo | Oh as for this one they are many |
| 106 Akos | Oh German returnees |
| 107 Tina | Especially the Ashantis |

In Extract 6.7, Turns 103 – 107, Tina confirms her familiarity with people such as the main character but does not claim to have met any despite the question. This is supported by Kojo. Akos categorizes such people as returnees from Germany and Tina returns to their ethnicity as Ashantis. Participants' quick recognition of the lead character seems therefore to be based on how his behavioural traits match up with their cultural expectations and assumptions.

6.3.1 Summary

In this section, I suggested that participants consistently demonstrated their recognition of the socially recognisable scenes designed by producers. I have illustrated how this is represented in participants' talk regarding how they identify and often elaborate events and characters. Interpretations of characters as real (or talking about them as if real) have been widely discussed in relation to media dramas such as soaps (Chatman, 1978; Richardson, 2010). This is also evident in the discussion of the adverts, e.g. in Extract 6.1 above participants relate events in the adverts to real-life experiences. Participants also however interpret the scenes more analytically, for instance commenting on how characters are portrayed or their relevance to particular audiences. In this case, the adverts seem to be considered as designed texts, although this phrase is not used.

6.4 *Responding to language use in the adverts*

In the multilingual context of Ghana the choice of language used in the adverts is an important part of the design, as I discussed in Chapters 4 and 5. Focus group members who made up the listening audience for the adverts also exhibited an awareness of aspects of language use. This included (see also §6.2):

- recognising that characters are speaking a particular language (for example Akan or English) and the relevance of this for listeners' understanding
- recognising the sociocultural associations of the language (for example the association between English and educatedness)

- recognising certain language practices and their related associations
(for example an association between code-switching and young adults)

In discussing the adverts focus group members often considered the fact that characters speak a particular language, for example English, Akan, French or Ga (see also earlier analysis in §4.2.3 & §5.7). The extracts below of discussions of the Yammi Gari Mix advert provide an example. The producer's target audience for the advert was 'students and everybody' (see Table 6.1) and because of the breadth of the audience two focus groups were used. Participants in one of the groups (Group 7) were hairdressing apprentices, a retail shop assistant and a student, and the discussion was conducted in a retail shop. They shared work colleague and friend relationships. All were speakers of Akan, the language used in the advert:

Extract 6.8

P 4: FG Yammi Gari Mix Akan.rtf - 4:3 (66:81)

- | | |
|----------|---|
| 66 Afra | Okay as you listened are you persuaded to buy the product they talked about |
| 67 All | Yeah |
| 67 Edith | But because they are speaking Twi in case I came from outside <foreign country> then I might not understand (.) if I go to the shop and see it in written <print> that this is gari already mixed with this and that then I can also buy and test it (.) but at times if the advert is in English that one I will know that I can buy it because they are doing it in English |
| 68 Ruth | If you go to the English too not everybody also [understands |
| 69 Edith | [The English |
| 70 Dina | [The English |

- 70 Ruth Do you understand (.) so you can't even [say
- 71 Dina [Some people understand Ga some
understand
- 72 Ruth So in this case you go into the English and you go into the local because not
everybody understand English
- 73 Dina That is it
- 74 Ben So if they have some in English and others in local language
- 75 Ruth Mm-hm so yeah
- 76 Dina Some people don't speak Ga
- 77 Ben So if they can have some in English
- 78 Ruth That's fine
- 79 Ben Because they sell some outside <foreign country> (.) it's not only for our local
industry we can also export some so if they have some in English because
recently the white folks have started to eat gari
- 80 All ((Laughter))
- 81 Ruth Oh yeah of course they do

Participants are concerned here with the comprehensibility of the language of the advert, Akan, by different groups of listeners and how the advert relates to these groups.

Edith notes that she is a speaker of Twi (Akan) (Turn 67). She will therefore understand the advert in Akan, but she comments that some listeners may not. She refers to people from outside Ghana. Other participants share an awareness of the appropriateness of the selection of particular languages for particular groups of listeners in a multilingual context. They suggest other language versions such

as English (Edith Turns 67-69) or Ga (Dina Turns, 71) which they perceive would be appropriate in relation to the communication skills of different language users.

The other focus group who listened to the Yammi Gari Mix advert (Group 6) included four corporate sector workers from one family. The participants lived in Accra and the discussion was conducted at their house. They all spoke Akan. They were all university graduates and used English a lot in their daily lives and the interview was conducted in English. This audience shared similar views that not everyone will understand an advert in Akan:

Extract 6.9

P 5: FG Yammi Gari Mix English.rtf - 5:1 (21:26)

- | | |
|---------|--|
| 21 Ruka | For me I think the first 30 seconds I was lost I didn't know what was going on.
Maybe because I don't really understand the language. I am not good at speaking
Twi <Akan> so until he mentioned the gari I didn't know what was going on. |
| 22 Afra | Oh okay oh okay |
| 23 Yeli | Me too me too |
| 24 Afra | mmm? |
| 25 Dovi | Me too |
| 26 Ruka | The Twi is difficult for me |

There is a mismatch between the audience perceptions and the producer's aim for this advert to target 'students and everybody' (§6.1.1, Table 12). The producer commented on the use of Twi (Akan):

Extract 6.10

42 FLC4 <...> there is this perception in our society which I want to believe that in spite of the fact that we have the literate class there are so many people who will like to hear more in Twi even the both the literate and illiterate class understand the Twi. Twi seems to be the most spoken language in Ghana.

However Ruka commented (Turn 21) that although she could recognise that the main language was Twi (Akan) she could not understand the advert, to the extent of not knowing what was going on. Ruka's first language is Ewe although she is married to an Ashanti man and has sufficient command of Akan to recognise the language of the characters.

In addition to discussing the comprehensibility of languages in a multilingual setting, participants also referred to the sociocultural associations of languages, particularly in relation to the indexing of certain ethnic and social groups. As an example I consider below the perceptions of the MTN video-calling focus group. The advert was in English and targeted the elite and young people (Table 6.1). The four participants in the group were young and all university graduates. Three of them worked in financial institutions and one worked with a leadership institute. They were all from one family and the discussion was conducted in their home. In Extract 6.11, participants consider the use of English in the MTN Video-calling advert:

Extract 6.11

P 1: FG MTN Video-calling English.rtf - 1:1 (30:41)

30 Davi	And then <referring to another MTN advert> is on Peace <the radio station> and even normally do their things in Twi. But that one [is in English
31 Rose	[Is in English maybe it's the target group they are looking at
32 Keni	Yeah
33 Rose	Especially for this advert you realise that it's errmm a service that needs errmm is it 3G handset and how many Ghanaians have that
34 Keni	((giggles))
35 Rose	You know how many people are interested in sending pictures and all that. For an average Ghanaian no it is just making and receiving my call (.) but maybe the the advert is also the reason why they are using the English so much and and the style of the advert is because of their target group
36 Afra	Okay and which people do you think are their target group ((long silence))
37 Rose	Young
38 Yawo	Educated [young
39 Rose	[Educated errr executives

Given the perceived clash between the language of the advert they are discussing and the language associated with the radio station, participants seek an explanation in the target audience for the advert (Rose, Turns 31, 33, 35, supported by Keni). When questioned directly about the group they perceive are being targeted, group members reflect on this and provide details based on their

understanding of the associations of English — as indexing the young, educated and executives. They also see themselves as belonging to this target group. Their understanding in this instance is equivalent to the target audience identified by the producer (Table 6.1).

Participants also recognise aspects of characters' identities as evoked through the use of language. The example below comes from the Global Access group:

Extract 6.12

P 9: FG Global Access Akan.rtf - 9:9 (171:174)

- | | |
|-----------|--|
| 171 Akos | But this one the way he uses the language (.) I don't think he has a good command of English |
| 172 Tina | Yeah yeah |
| 173 Akos | The way he uses the language it is full of big talk ((laughter)) |
| 174 Becky | But you realise they can really do that look at the way the Peace FM folks talk.
Someone like Odiahenkan <a Peace FM programme host> you wouldn't believe that he is even educated. |

Akos (Turn 171) characterizes the boastful speaker, Nana Koduah, as someone with a poor command of English but whose language is 'full of big talk'. Becky relates this characterization to the way 'Peace FM folks talk', giving the example of a programme host who uses similar language, here associated with a lack of education. The perception of the audience is consistent with the view of the producers that English is the language of the elite and that a speaker's command of English portrays his or her level of education (§4.2.3).

The listeners also recognised certain language practices, particularly code-switching, and their related associations. Their interpretations of this were

consistent with the producers' intentions as discussed in §4.2.3, §4.3.3.4 and §5.7. I illustrate this with reference to the group discussing the English-language version of the MTN Pay-For-Me advert (Group 12). The producer identified the target group for the English version of the advert as CEOs (business executives) and the elite. The five focus-group participants were university staff and graduates (lecturers, a teaching assistant, a high school teacher and a postgraduate student). They shared both work and family relationships (two of them were a married couple). The meeting was conducted in one of the lecturers' offices. The group addressed the use of code-switching as follows:

Extract 6.13

P10: FG MTN Pay-For-Me English.rtf - 10:1 (39:41)

- 39 Seth Yeah because right from the onset like <mimicking Uncle Ato's speech> what happened yesterday (.) oh uncle so you can tell that the phone cut on him or his credit or something like that
- 40 Owu And even though this is an English one they switch into Twi which is more natural like the uncle and yes
- 41 Adjei It is tending to become something like errmm when they <producers> are creative at that they are at their creative best that is when that they use code-switching

Although the group was not asked any question on language, Owu shifted the discussion to language to make a point on English-Akan switching (Turn 40) which he perceives as a 'more natural' use of language in this context. Adjei extends this point, relating the use of code-switching to producers' creativity. (Turn 41). Owu and Adjei exhibit a high level of metalinguistic awareness in their references to 'switching' and 'code-switching'.

The extract below shows the part of the advert they refer to:

Extract 6.14 – MTN Pay-For-Me advert (English version)

Turn	Voice	Speech	Translation
1	Uncle	Oh Osei you could have just told me	
	Ato	Aden na woantwa mi collect	Why didn't you make a
		Why didn't you make a collect call to me	collect call to me
		Eh Osei you could have made a collect call	
		to me with errr MTN Pay-For-Me	
2	Osei	Aaaaah okay okay okay	
3	Uncle	Ehe so what are you calling me about what	
	Ato	is it this time	

In Extract 6.13, participants' discussion of language use can be linked to their educational background as the participants were all graduates who were aware of the notion of 'code-switching'. Owu associates a switch to Twi with the character of the uncle (Turn 40). He also shows an awareness of the language use as a construct as he refers to how the Uncle character approximates real life. In Turns 41, Adjei seem to be more analytical and evaluative as he links code-switching with producer creativity.

6.4.1 Summary

In this section, I discussed the audiences' recognition of language use in the adverts. Participants focused on the comprehensibility of languages for different listeners. They also discussed the sociocultural associations of the languages, both with respect to target audiences for the adverts and to characterisation in the adverts themselves. Some groups also referred to the use of code-switching as it portrayed aspects of characterisation. The audiences' perceptions of the

associations of language use contributed to their recognition of characters, the characters' related behavioural traits and how they approximate real life. They also discussed the relationship between the languages used in the adverts and the audience for the adverts, which corresponds to the producers' perceptions discussed in §4.2.3.

Moreover, participants were relatively analytical in their discussion of language as in their talk about character portrayals (§6.3.1). For example, in Extracts 6.11 and 6.12 references to the acts of radio programme hosts and to the notion of code-switching indicate an awareness as in §6.3.1.

6.5 *Appreciation of the adverts*

Up to now I have been looking at the audience's response to the adverts in terms of the features they comment on and the extent to which what they say is consistent with the design decisions discussed by producers and/or evident during the production process. But the producers also wanted to make adverts that listeners would appreciate, or enjoy listening to. Focus group members often demonstrated their appreciation (e.g. in laughter) and in some cases referred explicitly to their appreciation of the adverts as shown in the UBA English and Akan groups (Extracts 6.3 and 6.4). In this respect, adverts may be seen as performances in the sense identified by Bauman and Briggs (1990:60), where 'performance ... provides a frame that invites a critical reflection on communicative processes'. In focus group discussions, critical reflection was realised as a form of audience evaluation of the slice-of-life adverts. Where participants referred explicitly to their appreciation they focused on humour in the adverts. I illustrate this in responses to the UBA and Global Access adverts.

In Extract 6.14, during the group's discussion of the UBA English-language advert, Yoni mentioned an example of humour in another advert by a mobile telecom company. I followed up with a question on humour in the UBA advert:

Extract 6.15

P 2: FG UBA English.rtf - 2:5 (75:83)

- 75 Afra Like this particular advert did you get any sense of humour?
- 76 Yoni There was no humour
- 77 Doris There [was
- 78 Rina [A little bit
- 79 Yoni [A little bit. There was a little bit ((laughter))
- 80 Doris About the lift
- 81 Yoni ((laughter)) me I was just picturing me being the guy and my wife putting pressure on me that we have to buy a car we can afford it
- 82 All ((laughter))
- 83 Yoni [. . .] so I found it very interesting so I like the advert from that angle (.) yeah some some humour bit

Although Yoni's initial response (Turn 76) is negative, Doris, Rina (Yoni's wife) and Yoni then jointly construct an interpretation of the advert as containing 'a little bit' of humour (Turns 77-79). Yoni relates his appreciation of the humour to imagining himself and his wife in the position of the couple in the advert. In this family and friendship context, Yoni and Rina are known to the other participants. The imagined scene evoked by Yoni of Rina putting pressure on him may function as a mild tease of Rina, and this elaboration of the advert, relating it to an imagined personal experience, provokes laughter from all participants.

In the Global Access advert, the stereotypical and exaggerated traits of the Ashanti returnee, Nana Atakora Koduah, generated a lot of humour:

Extract 6.16

P 9: FG Global Access Akan.rtf - 9:5 (91:95)

- 91 Afra So which one Tina is making you laugh so much
- 92 Tina ((laughs)) the son of the one who sits on the golden stool
- 93 Becky The attributes he is giving himself
- 94 Jackie Giving [him
- 95 Tina [<mimicking Nana Koduah> I am the one talking look my children
 ((laughter)) I send money and they use it to take good care of them. My children
 are beautiful

Tina and Becky refer to the character's attributes (his lineage) and Tina in Turn 95 humorously takes on the voice of Nana Atakora Koduah, playing on and elaborating the stereotypical portrayal in the advert which, in itself, generates further humour (laughter from other participants).

Not all the adverts were regarded as humorous, and in those that were there were differences in participants' appreciation of humour. For example, Yoni, Rina and Doris identified 'a bit' of humour in the UBA advert (Extract 6.14) whereas in the Global Access group where there was continuous laughter and talk about what caused the humour. In both cases, however, participants extended and elaborated the original advert, as also discussed above (§6.3). In this case, the elaboration created further humour, building on that in the advert. .

6.6 *Remarks on persuasion*

Although I have established that focus group members often appreciate the adverts they listen to, the overarching intent of slice-of-life adverts — that is to persuade people to buy something – is harder to address. Some of the groups were clearly aware of the persuasive intention of adverts and many referred to this in their discussion, as in the following examples from the Yammi Gari Mix focus groups.

In Extract 6.17 in the Yammi Gari Mix Akan focus group, participants responded to my question on whether they were persuaded to buy the product:

Extract 6.17

P 4: FG Yammi Gari Mix Akan.rtf - 4:3 (66:81)

66 Afra Okay as you listened, are you persuaded to buy the product they talked about (.)

67 All Yeah

67 Edith But because they are speaking Twi, in case I came from outside <foreign country> then I might not understand. If I go to the shop and see it in written <print> that this is gari already mixed with this and that then I can also buy and test it. But at times if the advert is in English that one I will know that I can buy it because they are doing it in English (.)

The group's chorus of 'yeah' suggests the persuasive effect of the advert is positive, though they do not say anything further about their own likely purchase and Edith qualifies this with respect to people who do not speak the language of the advert.

The other Yammi Gari Mix focus group referred more humorously to buying the product:

Extract 6.18

P 5: FG Yammi Gari Mix English.rtf - 5:5 (78:85)

- 78 Afra So do you think it's a good product (.)
- 79 Dovi Yeah (.)
- 80 Ken Yeah I have not used it before but I've seen it before (.) so you will buy me one
- 81 Afra Sorry I didn't hear you (.)
- 82 Davi ((Laughs))
- 83 Ken You will buy me one (.)
- 84 Yeli ((laughs)) Tokolinoo <Ken's nickname>
- 85 All ((Laughter))

This jocular response is better regarded as conversational joking than as saying anything about actually buying the mix, and it elicits laughter from other participants.

While such remarks by group members demonstrate their awareness of the persuasive intention of the adverts (whether or not the remarks themselves are serious), they can say nothing about the actual persuasiveness of the adverts.

Persuasion in the case of commercial adverts is better assessed using advertising industry standards. Practitioners determine persuasive effects by the corresponding change in the volume of sales since the campaign was initialised. I have some evidence of this regarding the Vista advert (§4.3). I later confirmed, through personal communication with the Vista creative director, that the advert was taken off air a few weeks after it was launched because the client achieved his targeted sales figure earlier than anticipated. Similar results from sales figures

and clients' reports for the other adverts would be required to provide further evidence of persuasiveness across the sample of adverts. Actual purchases through sales figures and clients' measuring techniques would therefore need to be incorporated into future research.

6.7 Collaborative interpretations in the focus groups

In setting up focus groups (§3.4.4) my main interest was in the content of the discussion, or what participants said about the adverts; however what also became apparent was the way participants' views were constructed. Essentially this was a collaborative process in which participants jointly constructed their interpretations of the adverts. This is reflected in the analyses in §6.3 – §6.5 above. I illustrate this more fully in the extract below:

Extract 6.19

P 6: FG UBA Akan.rtf - 6:1 (64:76)

64 Joe And it is also good because giving [lifts

65 Aku [Yeah

66 Joe When you are offered a lift one two three times people get fed up with you

67 **Aku** **It's true**

68 All ((laughter))

69 Joe Even you

70 Aku It is true so if you get your own car it makes you get to your destination quicker

71 Nana A gentleman usually gives me a lift (.) so this morning when I got a trotro
 <commercial minibus> which was coming straight here I said "thank you Lord"
 because I usually feel embarrassed

72 **Aku** **So are you embarrassed**

- | | |
|---------|---|
| 73 Nana | Whenever he sees me he wants to give me a lift so when I got the trotro I was fast with it [fast enough to board it to this place |
| 74 Aku | [fast enough to board it to this place (.) so in five years if you try [hard |
| 75 Joe | [You can pay up |
| 76 Aku | If you try hard you can even finish paying up before five years |

In this extract, the expression of participants' views involves supporting and building on others' speaking turns. Aku's brief responses ('yeah', 'it's true') support Joe's point that if you're offered a lift people get fed up with you (Turns 64 & 66). Aku's own substantive turn (Turn 70) repeats 'It is true', linking her rather different point (with your own car you can get to your destination quicker) with Joe's earlier comment. Nana adds a further point in a personal anecdote (Turn 71) about the embarrassment she feels in accepting lifts. Aku's query to Nana is a bit jocular – a mild tease which is allowed as they are sisters in law. In Turn 75 Aku overlaps and continues Nana's earlier turn (Turn 74), giving her a solution to her problem. This is partly a co-construction with Joe. Joe (Turn 76) overlaps Aku with 'you can pay up' and Aku expands Joe's utterance, 'if you try hard you can even finish paying up ...'.

Such overlapping speech, partial repetition and building on each others' turns demonstrates the collaborative co-construction of participants' responses to an advert. The collaborative activity is also a reflection of interpersonal relationships (the friendly/family relationship between Aku, Joe and Nana, also reflected in joint laughter). This is similar to informal interpretive activity in naturally-occurring contexts such as reading group discussion (e.g. Swann, 2012) where participants'

interpretations of books are collaboratively co-constructed and embedded in interpersonal relationships.

In all the focus group talk similar collaborative interpretations were identified. This may be attributed to the participants' interactions taking place in contexts that are similar to habitual listening environments and to their shared relationships as they already knew each other and were used to interacting together. This highly collaborative talk, similar to everyday informal interaction, is consistent with the kind of naturalistic listening environment I was trying to create (§3.4.4).

6.8 *Summary and conclusion*

In this chapter, I have focused on answering the question: how do the target listening audience respond to [slice-of-life] adverts? The focus group discussions show that listeners' interpretations of 'slice-of-life' adverts are consistent with the features designed into the texts by producers and that producers intend their audience to identify with and relate to. As with producers, the adverts are discussed by focus group participants at a general level, here in terms of the events and characters depicted, and aspects of language use. Participants do not identify specific features of the advertising texts such as those considered in Chapter 5 (e.g. §5.6).

Characters and events are identified as aspects of socially-recognisable scenes (§6.3) that are familiar to participants and may also relate more directly to personal experiences. Sometimes the interpretation of characters is based on participants' awareness of popular cultural stereotypes as in the discussion of the boastful character in the Global Access advert, where participants also align themselves with these stereotypes. The immediate familiarity of people and events, including cultural stereotypes, no doubt contributes to participants' rapid

recognition of the point of the advert within a mini-drama (and sometimes voice-over) of at most 60 seconds duration (See also discussion of stereotypes by producers, §4.2.1.).

Participants' familiarity with the types of scenes depicted also allows them to read more into the scenes than what is explicit in the advertising text (e.g. the characteristics of the Ashanti refugee Nana Atakora Koduah in the Global Access advert (discussion of Akan version)). They may also elaborate the adverts (taking on the voice of Nana Atakora Koduah, adding a personal narrative or an imagined personal experience to the account of the young couple needing a lift in the UBA advert), so that the very brief adverts, and the point of these, is extended and emphasized in discussion.

Participants also discussed the use of language in the adverts (§6.4), recognising issues of comprehensibility of particular languages (important in a multilingual context), and the sociocultural associations of languages. Such associations were discussed by groups in relation to the target audiences for the adverts (e.g. in the MTN Video calling advert, the association of English in the advert with the product and its likely users (young, educated); and in relation to the attributes of particular characters (Nana Atakora Koduah's poor command of English in Global Access). Participants also considered language practices such as code-switching, also recognising their associations. Some focus group members exhibited a high level of metalinguistic and metacultural awareness in discussing communicative and associational values of particular switches (e.g. the switch from English to Twi in MTN Pay-For-Me). Participants' interpretations of language use were broadly consistent with producers' intentions as discussed in Chapter 4.

While participants often related adverts to their own experiences or the types of people and events they were familiar with, some also gave more analytical responses, commenting on how characters were portrayed or how language was used, and whether this might be related to a particular target audience. I suggested that in this case the adverts were responded to as designed texts, although this term was not used. Although focus groups met in naturalistic settings, I moderated the discussion and even where moderation was light asking questions of the adverts may sometimes have prompted such analytical responses. It is not clear, therefore, to what extent such responses mirror habitual listening practices.

Participants also showed an appreciation of adverts (§6.5) in their responses (for instance in taking on and elaborating the scenes portrayed, in their laughter at aspects of the adverts). When they referred explicitly to their appreciation they associated this primarily with humour, both humorous events that related to their personal experiences, as well as some characters' stereotypical and exaggerated traits. When the scenes depicted in the adverts were elaborated by participants this often created further humour, extending their enjoyment.

Although there was evidence of participants' appreciation, I commented (§6.6) that a study of this nature has less to say about the actual persuasive power of the adverts, and that an alternative, perhaps complementary, methodology would be necessary for this.

In their discussion, focus groups showed evidence of collaborative interpretation (§6.7), co-constructing interpretations of the adverts. I suggested this was typical of informal, friendly talk, and that it was related to the environment of

the focus groups (habitual shared listening practices, existing friendship, family and work relationships), suggesting that the groups were engaged in a relatively naturalistic practice.

In the analysis of producers' accounts and observations of production processes (Chapter 4), designed indexicality was used as a concept to describe the producers' deliberate selection of indexical resources to construct slice-of-life adverts that would match with a particular audience's social reality and be recognisable by the audience. The design of the advert had to fit with a number of production constraints and the adverts were brief, requiring rapid recognition of the scene depicted and its point within a few seconds. In the analysis of the advertising text (Chapter 5), I identified several characteristics of a sample of slice-of-life adverts, looking at the scenes portrayed in the adverts and the use of a number of textual features that arguably helped to make these socially recognisable. This chapter has considered listeners' actual responses to the adverts, showing that these are broadly consistent with producers' intentions and the design of the actual advertising texts.

The analysis of listeners' responses completes the 'multi-perspectived' analytical approach adapted to advertising discourse.

In the next chapter, I discuss the overall findings and implications of the study.

7 Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

As mentioned in the introduction (§1.2), this study is, at the time of submission, the first one exploring radio advertising from a multi-perspectived discourse analytic approach and focused specifically on the African context. In Chapter 3, I explained that the initial aim of the study was to explore radio advertising strategies. However, an emphasis on 'slice-of-life' became apparent as an important issue in the producers' accounts and this therefore became the focus of this study. The purpose became to ascertain the characteristics of slice-of-life as a form of persuasive strategy, and to look at how it is achieved in radio advertising discourse (§1.2). To do this, I examined the underlying sociolinguistic and semiotic processes involved in the production and interpretation of the advertising text. These issues have been addressed in the analysis presented in chapters 4, 5 and 6.

In this final chapter, I first present a summary of the notion of 'designed indexicality' which operates as an overarching concept identified for the study of slice-of-life advertising discourse. The findings for each of the four research questions posed in §1.2 are discussed in line with how they were addressed within this framework. Second, I reflect on the methodology I used to examine these questions. Third, I focus on the implications of this research for the study of advertising discourse in applied linguistics and related traditions of research. Fourth, the implications of the findings of the study for advertising practice are also outlined, and finally, the limitations and implications of this study for future research are discussed.

7.2 Findings: an overview

The findings in each of the three analysis chapters indicate the way that a process of 'designed indexicality' (§3.5.4) is at work throughout the process of the construction of an advert, and is a key strategy in designing a persuasive text. The notion of designed indexicality can be defined as the deliberate harnessing of culturally salient indexical resources to convey meanings pertaining to the everyday life of a product's target audience within a number of production constraints (in this case the temporal constraints of radio advertising were particularly significant). As was seen in the accounts from the producers and the description of the production process, it is purposeful and, in this instance, is economically needs-driven in that choices are motivated by the need to reach a mass target audience for persuasive purposes.

The notion of designed indexicality as described here is a broader framework than notions such as linguistic fetishism (Kelly-Holmes 2000 & 2005) and language display (Eastman and Stein, 1993). These two notions rely on the symbolic value of different languages in contexts where code-switching is a prominent part of the advert, such that the arbitrary relationships between linguistic signs and their function do not convey 'structural or semantic expression' (Eastman and Stein, 1993:200). The case of linguistic fetishism and language display positions as primary, the symbolic value of language choices over its communicative value. And while this type of strategy is arguably useful in print and television advertising, where visual resources can be included, in the case of radio the communicative value of the language plays a constant and key role, and therefore language use which foregrounds the symbolic value of a particular language *at the expense of* its communicative meaning is unusual. In other words,

the use of language within the contexts I have focused on is for semantic expression as well as its associational values, and for this reason the notion of designed indexicality offers a better tool for analysing the way this works. I argue that any understanding of radio adverts requires a framework that encompasses the role of both the communicative and associational values of language resources to identify the patterns of language use. In addition, a framework is required which focuses not solely on language choice, style, accent and syntactic forms, but also includes non-linguistic features such as characterization, plot and situation. Designed indexicality, as I propose the notion, acknowledges the deliberate harnessing of the associational values of language, paralanguage and other multimodal resources such as sound effects, and also dramatic resources such as characterisation and plot. The design of these resources occurs primarily through language, however, in order to construct persons, scenarios, and language practices. In the case of the adverts I have examined, the indexical resources conveying social meaning are deliberately selected to contribute to the realistic nature of the slice-of-life adverts. Producers have the challenging task of organising resources such that associational values fall within audiences' expected interpretations of social realities.

Through the designed indexicality framework, the analyses of the different stages of the production and reception process of these adverts show how participants in advertising discourse purposively construct and interpret indexical resources in slice-of-life adverts, and in doing so exhibit (occasionally explicitly; but more often through working practices) their metacultural and metalinguistic awareness of contemporary Ghana. A focus on the use of language resources both in the making of and in the product of these adverts can highlight the

metacultural and metalinguistic awareness (see Duranti, 1997:200) of participants in such discourse. Focusing on how indexicality is designed and interpreted in slice-of-life adverts, it has been possible to highlight how producers and audiences exhibit this metacultural and metalinguistic awareness of their identified resources, and show how slice-of-life adverts are constructed around linguistic and social practices that exist within Ghanaian society.

In Chapter 4, I first presented the analyses of the producers' accounts of the production process and the two case studies of radio advertising processes to answer the following two research questions: (1) How do producers account for the selection and production of slice-of-life adverts? and (2) How is 'slice-of-life' co-constructed by the participants during the production process? Examples of the producers' deliberate organisation of design resources include stories that index the experiences and familiar aspects of their audience's everyday lives, conversations that index their interactional practices, and dramatizations that are indexical of the mannerisms and behaviour of typical local characters. Language choice as used in the adverts is complex: it has both communicative and associational values in order to create realistic characters and stories. I showed that resource selection for the construction of slice-of-life emanates from producers' metalinguistic and metacultural awareness of the sociolinguistic and sociocultural situations they were dealing with, and the beliefs and understandings of the audiences they were targeting. The challenge of producing slice-of-life scenarios within the constraints of the contracted duration of the mini-dramas in the adverts influences the producers' use of design resources as a creative response to achieve their desired effects.

In Chapter 5 I addressed the third research question: How may the analysis of advertising texts add to the understanding of slice-of-life advertising? Here, I examined the textual characteristics of slice-of-life adverts focusing on patterns identified based on issues which emerged from the discussion with producers in Chapter 4. I discussed how adverts from different producers are constructed with a sustained metalinguistic and metacultural awareness of the socio-cultural and linguistic practices that are prevalent within society. Primarily, I identified the following textual features: socially-recognisable scenes, sound effects and paralanguage, address forms and naming conventions, interactional features, and code-switching between languages and language varieties. These were discussed in terms of their role as shortcuts for the rapid recognition of scenarios as they pertain to current multilingual and socio-cultural realities in Ghana (§5.3 – §5.7).

Chapter 6 then goes on to answer research question 4: How do the target listening audience respond to such adverts? Through the analysis of the target listening audiences' account of slice-of-life adverts, I focused on how they identified and interpreted the designed indexical elements in the sample adverts discussed in Chapter 5. Listeners' interpretations of slice-of-life are at a general level with a main focus on characters and language use. Identification was not based on specific features of the advertising texts such as those discussed in Chapter 5. Participants' focus on characters and events were based on the socially-recognisable scenes familiar to them or relating to their experiences. Language use in the adverts was recognised based on the comprehensibility of different languages and the associational values they convey. The audience were shown to have a high level of metacultural and metalinguistic awareness as their discussions of the adverts showed a pattern of evaluative judgements around the

texts. This is arguably linked to the distinctive shared listening practice of the audience in Ghana.

7.3 Methodological reflections – integrating the different perspectives

As argued in Chapters 2 and 3, the method used, focusing on the various different parts of the production and reception process is well suited to gaining a holistic picture of the way these adverts work. Here I summarise the strengths of this model. This section and the following section, 7.4, thus address my fifth, methodological research question: what may this focus on slice-of-life advertisements from complementary perspectives (producer, production process, advertising text, audience) offer to the study of advertising discourse in applied linguistics?

Previous studies into advertising have, as discussed in §2.2, used some similar methods of research, but to date none have used an adapted multi-perspectived discourse analytic methodology of the sort employed here. This study therefore offers a fresh perspective for the study of advertising within applied linguistics and associated fields.

First, the inclusion of the producers' accounts (§4.2) bridges the gap between the listener-analyst and the producer. The producers' accounts in this study allowed the analyst access to the 'space' in the production process where 'linguistic choices (conscious and unconscious) are made' (Agnihotri & McCormick, 2010:58). The motivations for the producers' choices in the design of the advertising text have been outlined in §4.2. Through their accounts, it was established that slice-of-life design is the main strategy preferred in Ghanaian

radio advertising and that these designs are constrained by the contracted duration of the adverts (§4.3). The design of the adverts may therefore be considered a response to this (and other) constraints. Producers' accounts showed the use of designed indexicality at all points of production in order to produce scenarios which reflect 'real life' equivalents and make these quickly discernible to listeners. Involving these producers' accounts helped negotiate the issue of assumed intentions which text-centred approaches come up against, in that the claims made for the advert were explicitly probed and then cross-referenced with evidence from the other methods. The inclusion of the producers' views then resulted in the modification of the analyses of the sample texts (Chapter 5), in that the textual analysis of the texts was informed directly by issues that emerged in the producers' accounts (§5.1 & §5.2). Textual analysis was therefore conducted with the knowledge of the intentions behind production choices, which offered a broader context for their analysis.

The research was also able to fill the gap mentioned earlier by including observation of the production process (§4.3) of two radio adverts. Through this observation as well as the producers' accounts, I have been able to show that to achieve the construction of realistic designs in spite of the time constraint, producers resort to readily-available complexes of indexical resources. The inclusion of the observation of the production processes in addition to the accounts proved essential in that it illuminated aspects of production that were not covered in the producers' account. These included issues such as multiple designers, free translation processes and sustained focus on a realistic slice-of-life design. The chain of decision-making processes that stretched from the clients' briefs to the recording studio (§4.3) highlighted the role of the multiple designers that were

involved, as they sequentially and collaboratively construct the idea of slice-of-life. This confirms previous discussion of adverts as having 'collective senders' (Cook, 2001; Moeran, 1996). The inclusion of the production process also revealed that the multiple participants in the production process are not just senders, but are designers of the text in that they were observed to have a significant effect on the final text (§4.3 Vista and Global Access production processes).

The third element of the framework for analysis, the focus on the texts themselves, can show us the underlying sociolinguistic and semiotic processes at work in the texts, and the assumed intentions as well as possible interpretations of them. In this case, we are able to establish the aspects of socio-cultural and linguistic practices that play out in the slice-of-life designs. The analysis here is an interpretation based on what the listener-analyst finds of salience in the text. Since the target audience's interpretation is not explored at this stage in the process, the conclusions drawn remain possible interpretations. However, knowledge of the producers' informed choices proved important in identifying patterns and in the way that the design played out for the analyst (§5.3 – §5.8).

Finally, the inclusion of the audience's views through the use of focus groups acting as a replica of the shared listening practices that are prevalent in Ghanaian society was another valuable element in the overall method. While the use of questionnaire data (Kelly 1995; Chen, 2006; Hsu, 2008) for the analysis of print adverts is justifiable because of the individualistic nature of reading a newspaper, I argue here that the recruitment of focus groups and the meta-interpretative and collaborative interpretation practices identified in group talk is a reflection of the shared listening practice that are common in the context where these adverts are played (§3.4.4 & §6.1.1), and for this reason this is an

appropriate method for this research project. By means of focus groups, the listening audience was identified also as 'analysts' through their use of collaborative interpretation practices and meta-interpretations of the adverts, all of which would not have been identified through the use of individual interviews or questionnaires as data collection tools.

7.4 Methodological implications for the study of advertising discourse in applied linguistics

How does this methodological approach contribute to knowledge on advertising research within applied linguistics and related strands such as of sociolinguistic studies of media? The methodology and focus on slice-of-life advertisements has attempted to answer previous calls from some applied linguists, as discussed in §1.1. For example, Cook (2010:168) has called for applied linguistics research to focus on 'real-world language-related problems of global and social importance.' The study has, in this respect, thrown light on the harnessing of sociolinguistic and semiotic resources in a field and context where global and local forces both very much shape the everyday practices of inhabitants.

The focus on each of the points of the communication triangle highlights the inclusion of specific strands of the discipline. A content analysis of a corpus of radio adverts was used to examine the frequencies of creative approaches and the use of different languages and language combinations. However, as Cook notes and this study confirms, the patterns from the corpus analysis only reveal a part of the picture, as this overlooks the participants in the discourse. The producers'

accounts and production processes - researched by way of interviews and (mainly) non-participant observation - were therefore used to include the participants' perspectives. The inclusion of textual analysis was then used to confirm the producers' accounts and reveal the patterns of language use and design related choices. Focus groups were then used as an instrument to search for audience responses to texts, and specifically in this case they were employed to be a replication of the target audiences' reception practices. In other words, in this particular case (listening to radio adverts in Ghana), reception was observed to be a shared social practice.

The findings have reiterated Reynolds' (2004:330) argument for applied linguists to view 'discourse as process, a sociorhetorical practice' rather than simply focusing on the product. As the findings in the present research show, a focus on the text alone would not have revealed the intricacies of decision-making processes regarding language choice and the handling of other semiotic resources. The overall methodology with its focus on both socio-cultural and sociolinguistic elements and processes is also a response to Piller's (2006) call for a similar methodological approach to multilingual advertising discourse research. And the study also adds to the shift within applied linguistics to a multi-perspectived discourse analytic approach (Cook, 2010) which is able to generate findings and insights which have implications not only for theory but also for practice by including the views of producers and audience in the role that advertising plays in society.

7.4.1 The study of multilingualism in advertising

The study contributes mostly to the body of work which surveys the use of multilingualism in advertising. Although there is an increasing number of studies

on multilingualism, the variation in advertising strategies in monolingual and multilingual contexts remains underexplored; especially, the case of language choice in postcolonial contexts (§1.1, §2.4, & §2.5). The focus on advertising to multilingual audiences has been addressed predominantly in relation to the associations drawn not from the slice-of-life radio or television adverts but from print adverts and aspects of language choice and the symbolic associations different languages have in different contexts (§2.4 Rosendahl, 2008; Higgins, 2009). And with the exception of Higgins (*ibid.*), the focus has not been on the responses of the multilingual audience but on assumed effects.

This study adds to the body of work on multilingualism in advertising, and though the specific focus here is the African context, certain issues can extend to, and thus contribute to work on Western (e.g. Kelly-Holmes 2005; Martin, 2006) and Asian (McCormick & Agnihotri, 2009; Agnihotri & McCormick, 2010; Hsu, 2008; Chen, 2006; Lee, 2006) contexts. The findings in §4.4, §5.8 and §6.9 establish a concept (designed indexicality) for analysing the use and reception of slice-of-life advertisements, and though the particular focus here is a postcolonial multilingual context, I would suggest that it can be extended to monolingual native and foreign language contexts. In addition it adds to work such as Higgins's (2009) study of print adverts in Tanzania and Kenya: unlike her case study, the focus does not dwell on English and its localised versions or hybridized forms, rather it is on the overall language choice and characterisation and the embedded socio-cultural forms which influence the portrayal of socially-recognisable scenarios.

In terms of the use of multilingualism in advertising, the findings on realistic representation of bilingual practices supports Martin's (2010:94) finding from a French advertising context where producers use English with the aim to 'adapt

texts, music and imagery to local markets, choosing themes and both monolingual and code-mixed discourses that resonate with local consumers.’ Similarly, the data in this study shows the use of different languages and how they are associated with specific communities and their cultural values.

The findings reveal that slice-of-life adverts from the Ghanaian context do not show a case of ‘fake multilingualism’ (Kelly-Holmes, 2005) or ‘impersonal bilingualism’ (Haarman, 1989), but rather one of ‘real multilingualism’, used to index the actual sociolinguistic practices of the various target audiences. Kelly-Holmes (*ibid.*) suggests, with respect of the notion of fake multilingualism, ‘that while companies on the one hand seem to be ‘speaking people’s language’, in reality, everyday lived multilingualism is far too messy to be dealt with in market discourses.’ (p.179) However, as this research shows (§4.2, §4.3, §5.3 & §7.2), this is not necessarily the case in the Ghanaian context. The analysis reveals that in these slice-of-life radio adverts producers aim to achieve a representation of ‘everyday lived multilingualism’ (Kelly-Holmes *ibid.*) as they aim to communicate in a language (or combination of languages) that their audience will understand. The production processes show a sustained focus on the construction of real life representations at all stages, in all aspects of the design, and by all the multiple designers, in spite of the constraints that are imposed by the contracted duration and issues such as clients’ requests.

7.4.2 Implications for the study of radio drama and adverts

Although this research is focused on advertising, it complements the body of work on radio drama (Ligaga, 2005; Martins, 2003) and television drama (Richardson, 2010; McCormick, 2010) in that the approach of all the ‘designers’ in

the process of the construction of adverts is based on elements that include character, plot and setting typical of dramatic discourse. However, the findings show that although similarities are shared in the use of socially-recognisable scenarios and language use with radio and television drama, the compressed duration of the adverts leads to some very specific strategies. As identified in §4.4, temporal constraints are the reason for the compressed nature of the advertising text, and this leads to the specific designed indexicality strategies outlined in the analysis. This finding supports Bell's (1999:527) view that 'group characteristics, images and stereotypes are compressed and highlighted in a few seconds of staged time' in advertising texts. I therefore argue that although advertising texts can be analysed in some respects with reference to radio and television dramas, their compressed nature needs to be always addressed, and thus I agree with Cook (2001:213) that an advertising text needs to be considered in terms of 'its own status and conventions as a genre'. In that regard, the findings in this study call for further examination of advertising texts in their own right, and taking into account the constraints and affordances of the media in which they occur, be it print, radio, television, or online.

7.4.3 Implications for the study of language and advertising

For applied linguistics, through this study, I have expounded on the intricacies of multilingualism in an African context, showing how the language practices used in these adverts are designed to index associations from the linguistic and social milieu of their imagined audience and how this is attended to at all stages of production. This has necessitated the holistic view of discourse maintained throughout the study, and involved an eclectic use of methods and

approaches including sociolinguistics, semiotic processes, production and design, culture and approaches to dramatic dialogues. The methodology is a step up from Cook's triangular view of discourse (see also Cook 2010; Cook *et al.* 2009; Hmensa 2010) and an adapted form of the multi-perspectived discourse analytic methodology. The study has shown that a holistic view of advertising discourse is needed to examine sociolinguistic/semiotic processes identified with the socio-cultural context of production and reception. As has been continually noted, the form of the advert itself reveals that indexicality is an important meaning making strategy and this is the foundational process for representing realistic scenarios. I have argued therefore that it is valuable for an advert to be analysed in the light of insights derived from producers' accounts and the production process.

The focus on slice-of-life designs has shown that adverts are a good site for sociolinguistic research as they attempt to mirror the social realities of their target audience, especially in their inclusion of realistic stories and language use (§4.2 – §4.4 & §5.3 – §5.8). In its focus on socio-cultural and linguistic practices the study contributes to sociolinguistic research on patterns of language use in multilingual contexts as well as giving insights into the intricacies of bilingualism in postcolonial contexts and radio advertising in Africa.

7.5 A personal glimpse: the practitioner-academic interface

As is typical of doctoral studies, work on this thesis has been a long journey with all the twists typical of dramatic plots; however, it has been professionally worthwhile. At the early stages of data collection, I felt rewarded when this research was embraced by the advertising practitioners during my fieldwork in Ghana (summer, 2010). In all the encounters I had, the typical question that I was asked was whether I was from the Business School, to which I always responded

that I was from the English Language Department. The practitioners' surprised look was always accompanied with their verbal response that things are changing and that the study of English Language is becoming more progressive.

Bhatia's call for a dialogue between academics (in this case applied linguists) and practitioners has been realised in this study. He states:

In order to tap the conscious and unconscious knowledge which plays a critical role in the creation of ads, it is imperative to understand the complex process in the making of an ad. How do features of market research and product positioning map onto an ad copy? How is an ad adapted or created cross-culturally in the age of hyper-globalization by making visual and linguistic choices? In order to answer these questions and gain insights into the process of standardization and/or adaptation of cross-cultural ads, interdisciplinary research and dialog among the users of world Englishes and international advertisers is needed.

(Bhatia 2006:165)

Personally and professionally this study has been worthwhile, adding to the focus on language use in the real world within my discipline. Particularly, I am of the view that studies in applied linguistics need to continue to embrace the inclusion of perspectives other than those solely drawn from text. There are also more practical implications. The absence of dialogue between practitioners and academics does not support the preparation of students for the job market and the application of their knowledge to real life issues, in this case in the Ghanaian context. The teaching of advertising from an applied linguistic perspective requires some knowledge and understanding of advertising practice. The linguistic academic has to engage with the practitioner to understand the practices surrounding the production and interpretation of the texts we analyse. From a news media perspective, Cotter (2010:235) echoes my call as follows:

My goal is dialogue between journalists and linguists, among linguists, among journalists: to open up discussion, rather than shut it down. Linguists have the tools; journalists [advertising practitioners] have the material; all have the interest. Let the dialogue begin.

A similar dialogue (i.e. between linguists and advertising practitioners) or an attempt to create one from an African context is what I call for in this study. From a passion to reality, my personal passion to research advertising in the African context germinated into a scholarly piece as you have just read.

7.6 Implications for future research

While I hope to have shown that studies such as this have a lot to offer general advertising research, a number of questions remain unanswered. The resources for slice-of-life design in radio adverts differ from those of TV predominantly in terms of the lack of the visual mode, and this is one area that could usefully be addressed in future studies. Other questions which would extend the work include the following: How is the slice-of-life strategy realised in print adverts? Are there differences in slice-of-life approach across TV, print and electronic media? Do they share similar production patterns? Is indexicality dominant in these media or and if so how is it realised? What other persuasive strategies are used by the producers in this or other contexts? Answers to these questions would expand the understanding of the use of design indexicality in advertising discourse.

Interdisciplinary research focusing on advertising which involves a mixture of elements such as sociolinguistics and advertising studies approaches has not been a popular area for language-related research (§1.1, Kelly-Holmes, 2010:21).

However, this study has shown that advertising discourse is a significant research site as it displays vital aspects of our socio-cultural and linguistic practices. I would therefore agree with Kelly-Holmes's (2010:21) point that markets are 'ordinary, unremarkable, messy processes and practices, and in this sense they should be very much the stuff of sociolinguistic inquiry.'

The study of slice-of-life is a useful and interesting site for further investigation because of the insights it gives both into sociolinguistics practices in specific contexts such as Ghana, and into the construction and reception of adverts, which are an important cultural practice in any country. In this study, the insights offered by looking at this one particular area (slice-of-life radio adverts in Ghana), suggest that the general field is worth exploring in further detail.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 – Advert categorisation

Adverts were first coded according to product type to show the diversity corpus composition. 'Product type' categories corresponded to those used in the Cannes Lions International^{38, 39} radio category. Cannes Lions International identifies 21 product types. Of those 18 occurred in the data. One of the categories was split which led to 18 as listed in Table 4.

Table 8.1 Advert type, product and services categorisation

Advert type	Code	Products & services
Travel transport & tourism	TTT	Airlines, hotels, and resorts
Telecommunication services	TS	Mobile and land line communication providers
Retails stores	RS	Department and specialist stores, clothing & footwear stores, beauty salons,
Restaurant and fast food outlets	RFO	Restaurants & bars, fast food chains and outlets
Publication and media	PM	DVDs, TV and radio stations, networks & programmes
Public health & public awareness messages	PHSA	Anti-drink-driving, road safety, health, hygiene, Aids awareness, political & religious messages, associations, state education
Pharmacy	P	OTC medicines & tablets, vitamins & herbal remedies, insect repellents, skin remedies
Non-alcoholic drinks	NAD	Coffee, tea, chocolate & malt drinks, flavoured milk, still & carbonated drinks, fruit juices, mineral waters, flavoured milk

³⁸ Cannes festival of creativity is a yearly event where creative professionals worldwide gather to receive awards and recognition of their works.

³⁹ http://www.canneslions.com/awards/categories_rules.cfm#9-23-116

Advert type	Code	Products & services
Alcoholic drinks	AD	Beer, lager, wine, fortified wines, spirits, liqueurs
Household appliances, furnishings, electronics and audio visual	HAF	Kitchen appliances, home decorating and building products, personal phone equipment incl. mobile phones
Household	H	Insecticides & detergents
Food	F	Rice, pasta, oil, margarine, yoghurt, ice cream, milk, spices, vegetables (canned),
Clothing, footwear & accessories	CFA	Clothing & footwear
Cosmetics, beauty & toiletries	CBT	Make-up, skin & nail care products, deodorant & body spray, soap, toothpastes, sanitary towels
Cars & automotive services	CAS	Tyres, car dealers, oil, petrol, breakdown & servicing companies,
Commercial public services	CPS	Cable & satellite TV providers, postal services, private healthcare & clinics, private schools & colleges, private practices
Corporate image	CI	Non-product-based company image, company mergers, competition & event sponsorship
Entertainment & leisure	EL	Music festivals, exhibition & shows
Business equipment & services	BES	Business computers & software, office furniture & stationery, courier services
Banking, investment & insurance	BII	Banks, credit cards, current & savings accounts, mortgages & loans, investment companies, personal, health & building insurance, car insurance, real estate investment

Table note: an additional category (thereby 19th) was created for the purposes of this study mainly because of the observation made at the beginning of this study that telecommunication service was the most advertised of the categories. It was therefore set aside as an independent category not as part of commercial public services. Categories which were not represented in the data were deleted accordingly.

Appendix 2 – Ethics approval



The Open University

From John Oates
Chair, The Open University Human Participants and
Materials Research Ethics Committee
Research School
Email j.m.oates@open.ac.uk
Extension 52395
To P. Afrakoma Hmensa

Subject The producer, the text and the audience: communicative
strategies in Ghanaian radio ads
Ref HPMEC/2009/#656/1
Date 10-11-2009

Memorandum

This memorandum is to confirm that the research protocol for the above-named research project is approved by the Open University Human Participants and Materials Ethics Committee, by Chair's action, as it is deemed to be a minimal risk project with a well-prepared research design.

John Oates

Chair, OU HPMEC

The Open University is incorporated by Royal Charter (number RC 000391), an exempt charity in England & Wales and a charity registered in Scotland (number SC 038302)

Appendix 3 – Participant information sheet

Who can be contacted in case of any queries?

You can contact the researcher directly using the contact details provided below:

Mrs. Patience Afrakoma Hmensa
Centre for Language and Communication
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You may also contact my supervisors whose contact details appear below, in case you wish to talk with someone else about this research:

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The Open University

Participant Information Sheet

Title of Project:

**COMMUNICATIVE STRATEGIES IN GHANAIA
RADIO ADS: THE PRODUCER, THE TEXT, AND
THE AUDIENCE**

Research Project conducted by

**Mrs. Patience Afrakoma hMensa
Ph.D. Student**

**Centre for Language and Communication
Faculty of Education and Languages
The Open University
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Introduction

This project seeks to investigate the communicative strategies in radio advertisements. Using Ghana as a case study, we intend to examine the design of ads as well as how the listening audience respond to them.

This is an invitation to you to participate in the project, and to let you know what this would entail. The project will be carried out by a full-time research student registered at the Open University of UK.

What would happen if you join the study?

If you agree to join the study, you will be requested to sign a consent form. Then the researcher will arrange to carry out an interview at a time and place convenient for you. The interview will last about 40 minutes to one hour and it will be audio-recorded in order to ease data recording. The researcher may take notes. You are free to decline the use of audio recording if you are not comfortable with it.

Your participation will be on voluntary basis and you can change your mind and stop at any time. Your decision will be respected.

How will the information collected be used and handled?

The researcher will follow certain research guidelines throughout the research project including handling of data collected. These include the Open

University data protection Code of Conduct, the Open University Research Ethical Guidelines and the British Association of Applied Linguistics Ethical Guidelines.

The Data Protection Code of Conduct provides advice on how to treat personal and other types of information you provide about yourself. This is to protect the information against loss, theft, destruction or unauthorized access.

In order to ensure confidentiality, your identity will be anonymised after the interview such that your opinions cannot be personally identified. Information about you will be kept confidential and your real name will not be included in the final report or any published work unless you specifically wish it to be included. The information you provide may be used for educational or research purposes, including publication.

Are there benefits from taking part?

There are no direct benefits to you for taking part; however this study has potential to inform and guide the teaching of language in creative media. The findings of this study can be made available to you upon request.

Appendix 4 – Participant consent sheet



The Open University

Participant Consent Form

Project title: *Communicative strategies in Ghanaian radio ads: The producer, the text and the audience*

This is a request for your consent to participate in the above project. The information you provide will be used for educational and research purposes, including academic publications. However, your identity will be anonymised.

The results of any Open University research project involving people considered as personal data are covered under the Data Protection Act. This project will ensure such results obtained will be kept secure and not released to any third party. All raw data (that is personally identifiable) will be destroyed after the project is completed.

Please indicate your willingness or otherwise to take part in this research project by ticking the appropriate box and completing the details below. At any time during the research you will be free to withdraw. Your participation or non participation will not affect you negatively in anyway.

☐ I am willing to take part in this research, and I give my permission for the data collected to be used in an **anonymous** format in any written reports, presentations and inclusion in published papers relating to this study. My written consent will be sought separately if I am to be identified in any of the above.

Name:
(please print)

Affiliation:

Signed:

Date:

RADIO PROFILE

Ghana's media scene has remained predominately radio based with about 217 radio stations spread across the country. These include 36 authorized radio stations in Ashanti region, 32 in Greater Accra and Brong Ahafo region, 30 in Western region, 20 in Central and Northern region, 17 in Eastern region, 13 in Volta Region, 10 in Upper East Region and 7 in Upper West Region. Out of these about 188 radio stations are in operation.

It is estimated that every household in Ghana owns about two or more radio sets in their home. The radio stations are more in the regional capitals and few radio stations have the capacity to broadcast across two or more regions. These are in Greater Accra region, Joy FM, Peace FM, Adom FM and Asempa FM can be heard across Eastern, Central, Volta and some part of Ashanti & Western regions .

In Ashanti Region highly ranked radio stations like Luv FM, Hello FM and Nhyira FM broadcast across the Eastern, Western and some part of the Brong Ahafo regions and programmes like Joy News & Super Morning Show, Peace's Kokrokoo and Adom's Edwaso Nsem respectively can also be heard on these stations because of their affiliation with the stations in Accra. In Western Region stations like Skyy Power Fm, Goodnews Fm, Liberty Fm, Twin City radio broadcast across the Central and Western regions and the Northern Region – Justice Fm, Savannah Radio and Diamond Fm can also covers the Upper East & upper West regions apart from the Northern region.

About 14,045,141 million radio audience listen to the radio nationwide and the most listened times on radio are in the morning between 5:30am to 10am , in the Afternoon Major News Broadcast, Launch Time rhythms between 12:00 – 2:30pm and in the Evening Drive Time between 4:00pm – 8:30pm.

Appendix 6 – Interview questions

General/preliminary/background questions

1. How long have you worked as a creative director in this agency?
2. What does your current job position entail?
3. Can you give me a brief overview of your previous education and work experience?
4. Have you ever worked outside Ghana?
5. What kind of company accounts do you hold?
6. What kinds of/ranges of products/do you cover?

Format choices

7. What range of advertising categories/formats do you use?
8. What do you consider are the benefits of particular categories/formats?
9. What motivates your choice for formats e.g. short drama, song, etc.?
10. Which do you normally use and why?
11. What sort of situations do you try to depict in your ads?
 - a. Are you getting real life situations through that/ what do you mean by realism?
 - b. How do you depict real life situations?
 - c. Through the language or the format?
 - d. Is it expensive to do so?
12. How do you get the voices you use?
 - a. Do you have a bank of voices you use in your ads?
 - b. What determines the choice of a female, male, child or celebrity voice?
13. I noticed in your ads that you had more male voices any particular reasons?
14. Why do you have multi-product ads? (for freelance producers 5&6)
15. How do you do the media placement/buying radio spots with stations?

Language choices

16. Which language(s), or language varieties, do you use in your ads?
17. Do you ever mix more than one language (variety) in the same ad?
18. What determines the choice of language (variety)?
 - a. Why do you do that?
19. What kinds of listeners are you targeting with English/Akan/Pidgin?
20. How do you think listeners respond to these language(s) and or varieties?

Appendix 7 – Focus groups questions

Questions-sample ads

1. Can you talk me through the production of theradio ad?

Follow up questions

2. How was it commissioned?
3. What kind of brief were you given? (E.g. about the audience(s)? Radio station(s)?)
4. How was the ad designed?
 - a. Who was the brain behind this design?
 - b. And what processes did it go through?
5. Why did you have 2 language versions of the same ad?
6. How was it approved? Who gives the final approval?
7. Was the company given choices from which to make a selection?

Audience reception: FG discussion theme

1. Have you listened to this ad before?
2. Listen to it now (will be played to the group)
3. What do you have to say about what you just heard?

Follow up prompts if needed

4. What are your views on the language used?
5. What category of people in the society do you think are being addressed?
6. Do you think this is a good ad?
7. What makes you think it is a good product?

Appendix 8 – Sample interview transcript

P 1: CD1.doc - 1:9 (135:146)

- 135 Afra It's an interesting insight you've given me (.) errmm so do you think having, depicting a real life situation gives you errmm better impact on the target audience
- 136 CD1 Yeah it does (.) it does because advertising is all about telling stories every brand tells a story (.) without stories there is no advertising (.)
- 137 Afra Normally do you depict it through the language or the format (.) because it looks like now from what you've told me it's more of the format that you use to depict the real life situation (.)
- 138 CD1 Language also comes in it's it's the format becomes the how (.) the language and the content becomes the what. So so we we marry the two (.) the veridical matter is the realism (.) is the story and you can't tell stories without language (.) So the language of of the actors try as much as possible to create or to reflect the mood the person is in. so for instance when the lady in the ad I am referring to say <in act> haba I am tired I can't go for a lift anymore can't we buy our own car' now we use exclamations interjections and all kinds of linguistic resources to the person the audience are not watching they are listening so as much as possible (.) your language should be able to carry the weight of the of the of the context of the argument (.) and that is where the linguistic skill of the writer comes in.
- 139 Afra You've taken me to the next section but I before we get to that is it expensive to depict a real life situation?
- 140 CD1 Yeah as I mentioned earlier (.) sometimes it is because sometimes the story cannot be told in a few seconds (.) sometimes you need to tell the story logically and that extends your duration the duration of the ad (.) and that is what most of the time we don't want to do (.) so the challenge for the

copywriter and creative director is to tell a compelling story and emphasis is on compelling and to tell a compelling story in five ten seconds (.) wow (.) that is an assignment (.) that is it (.)

141 Afra [So

142 CD1 [So you are trained as a copywriter to deliver to deliver very compelling argument with very short in a crisp form (.) that is it

143 Afra So we come just right to the next one (.) which language or if I should say language varieties do you normally use in your adverts (.)

144 CD1 Okay hmm we we combine (.) we combine English errmm with local languages sometimes (.) if you are delivering an ad that sells a high end product (.) definitely the high end people are in the errmm LSM from 5 going (.) and they are typically educated (.) they are well employed bla bla bla they are at the high end so they can understand how the English language is used and the nuances of the language

145 Afra Okay when you say LSM you mean the Lifestyle measurement (.)

146 CD1 Exactly (.) the lifestyle measurement okay it's a tool we use to segment the market (.) now so if I am writing an ad for Whisky or Johnnie Walker it's definitely a high end product (.) and I will write it in English (.) now if I were writing an ad for errmm champion condom which is very a very cheap condom brand, highly subsidized it's for the lower end of the market (.) so you use vernacular (.) I would use the local language (.) now there are times we mix the two (.) we mix the two when one the ad is for students because students speak a lot of Pidgin and errmm Pidgin has become the lingua franca of students in Ghana (.) they all speak Pidgin and Pidgin has Ghanaian Pidgin has a lot of errmm errmm local language vocabulary (.) so it is just normal that if you are selling to students you speak the language of students and they mix the two varieties (.)

Appendix 9 – Sample focus group transcript

P 2: FG UBA English.rtf - 2:2 (31:62)

- 31 Afra You think the concept is a typical situation
- 32 Yoni Hmmm
- 33 Kofi But
- 34 Yoni For those of us in Accra predominantly
- 35 Doris Hmmm
- 36 Yoni Because if you go outside Accra you don't have that hassle [in
[Rina do you Doris
- 37 Yoni In getting a car in [joining
- 38 Rina [Hell no ((laughs))
- 39 Yoni So it's cut out for those in Accra
- 40 Kofi I think one will be good for those who are in financial institutions because they go
in for a loan and this one they have a loan for a car and **wo be hwe na** <later you
realise> they even want to even sell the car
- 41 Afra Okay so you think they are targeting only those in the financial financial errr
[corporate
- 42 Kofi [Yeah that is what I mean
- 43 Rina [I think they are talking about those who are financially sound who won't be
bothered if deductions are being made you know and they can easily pay
- 44 Afra Okay hmm and errr do you think it's a good ad
- 45 Kofi Mm-hm

46 Doris	Yeah I think it is
47 Yoni	Yep
48 Afra	In which way...
49 Doris	Because from the very beginning I know it's something about getting a car (.) they make their mission known right from the start (.) so from my point of view it's good (.) unlike the others we listen
50 Yoni	It's a good advert like I said to me it addresses a real concern so the moment they started it caught my attention you know so it's it's a good advert
51 Afra	What about the language they used
52 Kofi	It's okay errmm considering their target group it's okay
53 Rina	I mean it was straight to the point
54 Doris	Mhmm
55 Rina	You didn't have to think (.) you know to try to decode the language and all
56 All	((Laughter))
57 Rina	You didn't have to you know listen hard to find out what is going on (.) it was just short and precise straight to the point
58 Afra	[So
59 Rina	[It addressed the essential issues
60 Afra	So will you prefer adverts that go straight to the point than those you have to think and know what they [are
61 Doris	[If it is interesting and it is not straight like this <i>And Then</i> advert
62 Rina	It's quite nice

Appendix 10 – Sample list of codes

Categories	Free codes
Realistic stories	Slice-of-life
	Real life
	Realistic
	True-to-life
Language	Akan
	Twi
	English
	Fante
	Code-switching
	Language
Constraints	Constraints
	Challenges

Appendix 11 – Production documentation for Vista Paper advert

Vista Paper – English advert.

Turn	Voice	Speech
1	Female	Turn it off
2	Male	I've turned it off
3	Female	I'm pulling I'm pulling ah ouch
4	Boss	Hei what are you people doing to my printer
5	Female	Sir we are trying to remove the sheets of paper stuck in it
6	Boss	What My new printer Who bought the paper
7	Female	BBB ((Stammers)) Boss I I ((stammers)) did
8	Boss	Don't you know about Vista
9	Male	Vista
10	Boss	Yes Vista Vista Vista! That is where you should buy all papers from now onwards!
11	AVO	Get your quality and affordable paper from Vista 2000 suppliers of Vista Line notebooks, envelopes and A4 sheets When you think notebooks and paper, think Vista 2000 Call Vista 2000 ltd on 0302 243 33506 for your affordable world class quality paper Vista 2000 your global source for paper

Call report 1

CALL REPORT

Client:

Present for Client:

Present for Agency: I

Date: 19th July, 2010

Venue: Client's office

CONTACT DETAILS

Client met with Agency to discuss the possibility of working together. The first task given to Agency by Client is radio commercials. Client wants **two options**: 30 seconds and 45 seconds.

Client wants the radio ad to focus on their brand, Vista with specific mention of three of their products i.e.

A) A4 Paper for office and printing

B) School Note books

C) Office envelopes of all kind

The Jingle should be in English and talk of the above with a focus on Vista as a company with its existence in Ghana for 15 years and serving Ghana with its superior paper products.

Client wants the caption/ theme **"THINK PAPER AND NOTEBOOK THINK VISTA 2000 LTD"**.

Additionally, Client wants the following:

A quotation for the jingle and spot along with details like;

- a. Cost per spot
- b. Popular and major 3 Radio Channels
- c. Regions where they are telecast.
- d. Popular programmes of the 3 Radio Channels and the timing of the programme.
- e. The type of listeners of each FM channel
- f. The total costing for a 30 second jingle and a 45 second jingle separately.
- g. Cost of the Jingle separately

h. Any special offer in price

NB: Client made specific mention of radio stations within Accra and Tema

Client has hinted that they are interested in doing outdoor and TV subsequently and have therefore requested for competitive quotes from Agency enhance the chances of working with them on the other projects.

It is worth noting that Client is working with a very small budget so that should guide us in the number of voices to be used.
Also Client expects a jingle of not more than 45 seconds.

AGENCY ACTION

- Put together scripts for two options: 30 and 45 seconds radio commercials
- Prepare quotation to cover the radio commercials
- Put together media selection and justification as described above

DEADLINE

- 20th July, 2010

Circulation Date: 19th July, 2010

Key Account		
Executive		
Head, Client service		
Head, Creative		
CEO		
G.M		
Traffic Executive		
Media Executive		
Client	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>

Call report 2

CALL REPORT

Client: _____
 Present for Client: _____
 Present for Agency: _____
 Date: 22nd July, 2010
 Venue: Client's office

CONTACT DETAILS

Client met with Agency to discuss the radio scripts, media selection and the various costing involved.

Client was pleased with Agency's inputs and thus chose the "**BROKEN PRINTER**" script.

However, Client wants the following amendments made to that script:

- The script should be compressed into maximum of 45 seconds
-
- The amendments should be at the **AVO (cut in)** part, it must be summarized while mentioning the salient points. They had little to say about the other lines.
- Client wants the notebooks to be qualified as "**Vista line notebooks**". This is because client is branding their notebooks with that name; this means everywhere books are mentioned in the script Vista line must precede it. It is also worth noting that Client wants more emphasis on the vista line so in mentioning the products, Vista line notebooks must be first. E.g."..**vista line note books, A4 sheets for office use and printing, envelopes....**"
- Client also wants us to lay emphasis on "**quality**" products. They want these words to be prominent in the script: "**better**", "**quality**" without necessarily giving a hint of comparison with any competitors.
- Client also wants the element of affordability to be incorporated in the script.
- Client wants a reduction in the cost of production of the jingles

Additionally, Client prefers to use Peace fm and thus has made the following specific requests:

- Quotations of 45 seconds spots on the suggested top programmes on Peace fm and specific details in terms of number on the listenership base of those programmes.
- A comprehensive media schedule covering the number of weeks for the campaign
- **Negotiation for discounts from Peace fm; as Client says if Agency can't guarantee they might consider going directly to Peace fm**

Client has hinted that they are interested in doing outdoor advertising and has requested for quotes of available billboard sites
Agency is to meet Client at 2pm on Monday, 26th July, 2010 to finalize talks.

AGENCY ACTION

- Edit script as described above
- Consider a reduction in the cost of producing the radio commercials
- Put together a media schedule and justification on selected programmes on Peace fm as described above

DEADLINE

- **26th July, 2010 (before Midday)**

Circulation

Date: 23rd July, 2010

Key	Account	
Executive		
Head, Client service		
Head, Creative		
CEO		
G.M		
Traffic Executive		
Media Executive		
Client	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>

Call report 3

CALL REPORT

Client:
 Present for Client:
 Present for Agency:
 Date: 30th July, 2010
 Venue: Client's office

CONTACT DETAILS

Client met with Agency to discuss the finished radio commercial.

Client was pleased with the commercial but has made a request for music (NOT LOUD) to be in the background. However, Client is not seeking to pay any extra cost.

Additionally, Client mentioned that they have been to Peace fm and secured 20% discount nevertheless they prefer to still do the placement through Agency so we should try and work something out and present to them.

Client also mentioned that they have decided to do most of their jobs with us.

AGENCY ACTION

- Put music in the background of the commercial.

DEADLINE

- 30th July, 2010

Circulation	Date: 30 th July, 2010	
Key Account Executive		
Head, Client service		
Head, Creative		
CEO		
G.M		
Traffic Executive		
Media Executive		
Client	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>

Call report 4

CALL REPORT

Client:

Present for Client:

Present for Agency:

Date: 2nd August, 2010

Venue: Client's office

CONTACT DETAILS

Client met with Agency to finally take a decision on the radio commercial and discuss issues regarding media placement.

Client has agreed to proceed with the 13 week radio campaign on Peace fm and has therefore chosen **option 3** of the media budget submitted to them by Agency.

The media department must therefore prepare a clear cut schedule showing the spots and time within which the commercial will be aired. The schedule must be submitted to Client before close of work today.

Additionally, Client wants the line "Vista line notebooks" to be edited into "vista line **school** notebooks" for final approval.

With respect to media, Agency couldn't match Client's supposed 20% discount from Peace fm, however, stated unequivocally that we may offer discounts based on the volume of work from Client and upfront payment of about 70%.

Client however agreed to go with Agency on the media placement and assured that payment will not necessarily be a problem.

Client also mentioned that they are streamlining their activities and will keep Agency in the picture all along however; Client has tasked Agency to explore the possibility of securing a sponsorship deal with the Black stars, Accra hearts of oak or Kumasi Asante Kotoko.

AGENCY ACTION

- Edit radio ad
- Prepare media schedule covering 13 weeks on selected programmes on Peace fm (Option 3)
- Contact officials of football teams named above for discussions on sponsorship

DEADLINE

- **2nd August, 2010**

Circulation		Date: 2 nd August, 2010	
Key	Account		
Executive			
Head, Client service			
Head, Creative			
CEO			
G.M			
Traffic Executive			
Media Executive			
Client	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>	

Appendix 12 – Production and documentation for Global Access

advert

Global Access original script

GLOBAL ACCESS RADIO

60secs

"Myself"

MVO: My name is Nana Kwadwo Attakora Koduah. I've been driving a taxi here in Amsterdam for the past thirteen years. Back home in Ghana, I've been able to send my children through all levels of education. Look, when you see my daughter's beauty, you yourself, will feel tres bien. Thanks to Global Access, I send so much money to my people back home that there are "allegations" I am even going to be enstooled chief. That alone should tell you I am no small person. I've been using Global Access for years and -

FVO: Uncle, she's simply asking whether you are sending the money through Moneygram.

MVO: Aaanh, Global Access now has Moneygram? Oh, that's fine! Akwasi Broni, sorry, wai?

ANNCR: Moneygram is available at all Global Access branches in Accra, Tema and Kumasi. Available any day of the week, even holidays.

Global Access. Genuine, easy, reliable and responsive.

Global Access AVO's translation

Ann. Obia ye obi

wobemga money-gram ewo Global

Global Access nkarabata ewo

Ukray, Tema ene kumaa, wo ye

Ekoruma naawotet no nyinaa a

memenede ne kwesiada ekaho

Ene holiday mpo

Global Access obia ye obi

Yeh woda ya sive

Global Access final transcript

Turn	Voice	Speech	Translation
1	Male	<p>hwɛ, yɛ frɛ me Nana Kojo Atakora Kodua Nana Kodua nana ne me M'atwi taxi akyɛ yie paa ɛwɔ Amsterdam kurom ha awɔ yi sɛ ɛretwa me ara ni hwe 13 years wo-kɔ Ghana a, me maa mede wɔn a kɔ sukuu akɛseakɛse paa na wohu me babaa sɛ ogyina hɔ a, wobɛ feeli tres bien kurom ha na mose obiara nye obiara ooo Hwɛ, aseda nyinaa nkɔ mma Global Access Mfie dodoo yi nyinaa, Global Access ara na yɛ usei hwɛ me-tumi mane sika kɛsɛɛ paa kɔ-ma me nkorɔfoɔ wɔ Ghana ɛ-ma wɔn twa me allegation koraa sɛ me koraa yɛreba abesi me hene. Massa, twa me Global Access</p>	<p>My name is Nana Kojo Atakora Koduah I am a grandchild of Nana Kodua I am an experienced taxi driver here in Amsterdam I have really battled with the cold weather for 13 years! In Ghana I have sent my kids to the very prestigious schools If you see my daughter standing here now you will really admire her In this country you claim everybody isn't anybody All thanks must go to Global Access All these years we have been using Global Access Look I send large sums of money to my folks in Ghana and they are even asserting that I am even going to be made a chief Master/buddy/mate give me Global Access</p>
2	Female	<p>((Laughter)) nia o-bisa-a wo ɛ-ne sɛ, "wo-pɛ sɛ wo-de sika no fa Moneygram so anaa ɛno ara ne no</p>	<p>((Laughter)) All she asked was if you wanted to send your money via Moneygram That is all</p>

Turn	Voice	Speech	translation
3	Male	aaa, w'repε a-kyerε sε Global Access nso wɔn wɔ Moneygram	Do you mean Global Access also has Moneygram
4	Female	Aane	Yes
5	Male	Nana paa, na nka me-re-yε a-gu m'ananim ase saa no, hεε! hmmhmm ((giggling)) twa me Global Access Moneygram w'atem'εkyεwo adeε	Was I, Nana really just about to disgrace myself Hmmhmm ((giggling)) make sure you send it via Global Access Moneygram and I will give you a gift
6	AVO	Obiara yε obi wo-bε-nya Moneygram ε-wɔ Global Access nkorabata a ε-wɔ Nkran, Tema εne Kumasi wɔ-yε adwuma nnaawɔtwe nyinaa a memeneda ne kwasiada ka ho εna 'holiday' mpo Global Access, obiara yε obi! Y'-ε-te mo so a na y'-a-sɔre!	Everybody be somebody You will find Moneygram at all Global Access branches in Accra, Tema and Kumasi They are open all days in the week including Saturdays and Sundays and holidays as well Global Access everybody is somebody You are dependable

Appendix 13 – Advertising texts

United Bank of Africa (UBA) English advert

Turn	Voice	Speech	Sound effects
1	Kojo	Ooh Sweetheart could you please hurry a little eh We've got a lift to town eh please hurry	Car horn beeping
2	Sweetheart ⁴⁰	I am not going anywhere Kojo I am sick and tired of begging for a lift everyday	Car horn beeps
3	Kojo	Ah	Car horn beeps
4	Sweetheart	How about our own car eh	
5	Kojo	But	
6	Sweetheart	And do not tell me we can't afford it	
7	Kojo	But	Car engine starts
8	AVO	Of course you can afford a brand new car with just 10% of the price of the car, you can drive away your dream Honda, Audi or Skoda UBA Honda Audi Skoda and SIC offer you the easiest friendliest and most flexible way to own a car in the UBA dream and drive promo Pick your car from the Honda Audi and Skoda showrooms Make an initial 10% deposit Enjoy a friendly loan from UBA	Car engine running and accelerating

⁴⁰ I named Kojo's wife sweetheart for referencing purposes in the subsequent discussions.

Pay the remaining 90% in an incredibly long 5 years at

UBA base rate

Get a discounted comprehensive insurance cover for your

car for the first year from SIC

Car

Contact any UBA branch SIC insurance office or the

accelerating

Honda, Audi and Skoda showrooms for **further** details

The UBA dream and drive promo last from 11th May to 30th

July 2009

Conditions apply

UBA best bank in customer service

UBA Akan advert

Voice	Turn	Speech	My translation	Sound effects
				Car horn beeping
1	Male	ɔɔɔ yɛwu, mesɛ wo yɛ no ntɛm kakra wae. Yɛ nya lift a yɛde kɔ kurom	My sweet love, please hurry up a little We have a lift to town	Car horn beeps
2	Female	ɛnɛ nso y'asan anya lift Menkɔ baabiara ɛnɛ nko kyena Ah yɛn ara ntumi ntɔ yɛ deɛ Menka nkyerɛ me sɛ yɛntumi ntɔ car ah	We have gotten a lift again I am not going anywhere neither today nor tomorrow Ah, can't we buy our own Don't tell me we can't afford a car ah	Car horn beeps Car engine starts
3	AVO	Wobetumi atɔ brand new car Wotua car no ka emu nkyɛmu du a ɛyɛ ten percent a wobɛnya wo ara wo Audi Honda anaa Skoda emono kyiaɔw ada mu atwi no sei yɔɔ UBA Honda Audi Skoda ene SIC aka abɔ mu a wopɛ sɛ wo ara wonya wo ara wo car da mua wombrɛ ho koraa ewɔ UBA dream and drive	You can buy a brand new car If you pay 10% of the cost of the car you can get your own brand new Audi Honda or Skoda and drive it smoothly. UBA Honda Audi Skoda and SIC have collaborated for you to have your own car without any stress through the UBA dream and drive promotion.	Car engine accelerating

promotion yi mu	All you have to do is to go
Eno ara nese wobeko akofa wo	and pick the car of your
car wope afiri Honda, Audi,	choice from Honda Audi
Skoda showroom atua ne bo	Skoda showroom and pay
no emu nkyenkyemu du pe ato	10% of the cost as deposit
asee	UBA will give you a loan
	without any trouble [strings
UBA bema wo bosea a chaw	attached] UBA will let you pay
biara nnimu. Emu nkyemu	the remaining 90 which is
aduckron a aka no eye ninety	90% within a 5 year term
percent no eno nso UBA	repayment plan
bekyeye ama woatua no mfee	
num ntam	
SIC bema wo comprehensive	SIC will give you a
insurance discount ewo car a	comprehensive insurance
wobefa no afe a edi kan no mu	discount on the car for the
	first year
Ko UBA branch biara ena SIC	Go to any UBA branch and
insurance office ena Honda,	SIC insurance office and
Audi ena Skoda showrooms na	Honda, Audi and Skoda
won nkyerekyere wo mu	showrooms and they will
UBA dream and drive	explain it to you
promotion yi wokyee asee efiri	This UBA dream and drive
eleventh May kopem July	promotion is starting from
thirtieth two thousand and nine	11th May till July 30th 2009
UBA best bank in customer	
service	

Car engine
accelerating

Agric Development Bank (ADB) advert

Turn	Voice	Speech
1	SFX	Phone rings
2	Boss	Hello Joanne, make it snappy I have to run. You know it's a Friday
3	Joanne	Sir errr just to update you on your schedule
4	Boss	Mm-hm
5	Joanne	You have a 7pm dinner at the Four Seasons
6	Boss	Yeah
7	Joanne	A 1 o'clock meeting with our lawyers and a 2.30 at the bank
8	Boss	Oh no I've booked a meeting with our suppliers at 3 Put Michael on the bank meeting
9	Joanne	I am afraid he is off for the day Sir
10	Boss	Oh dear
11	AVO	With so much to do on week days don't let banking be an issue The ADB now offers Saturday banking at selected branches between 9am and 2pm You can transact business at selected ADB branches in Accra or branches in Adum Kumasi Sunyani Techiman Berekum Swedru and Tamale are also open on Saturdays to give you a full bouquet of our services to explore to achieve everyday
12	Song chorus	ADB
13	AVO	ADB Agric and more

ADB Akan advert

Turn	Name	Speech	Translation	Sound effects
		SFX		Phone rings
1	Boss	Hello Joan ma wohu nye hari ene ye fiada ewɔ se me kɔ	Hello Joan hurry up because today is Friday and I have to leave	
2	Joanne	Sir mipaakye ewɔ se me ma wo deɛ wobeyɛ ni enɛ	Sir please I have to give you your schedule for the day	
3	Boss	Okay	Okay	
4	Joanne	7pm wo wɔ dinner wɔ Four Seasons	At 7pm you have dinner at Four Seasons	
5	Boss	Aha	Yeah	
6	Joanne	Ena ewɔ se wo kɔ bank ɛnsuso 2.30	And you have to go to the bank too at 2.30	
7	Boss	Oh adɛn mene suppliers no hyehyee sɛ yɛ behyia 3 o'clock heh ma Michael nko bank no wati	Oh why I have already confirmed a meeting with the suppliers at 3 o'clock listen let Michael go to the bank	
8	Joanne	Sir mepaakyew wa pɔn	Please Sir, he has closed for the day	

Turn	Name	Speech	Translation	Sound effects
9	Boss	Yeiii	Oh no	
10	AVO1	Ye nim sɛ naawotwi no nyinaa wo wɔ biribiɛ Enti yempesɛ bank nsem nso beyɛ wa'sodeɛ Seisesiaa ADB abue mbia bi wɔ nkran a memeneda biara efi anopa nonkr)n ekosi ewia non mmienue Y3 bɔ adwuma ewɔhɔ Ebi nso neAdum Kumasi Techiman Berekum Swedru ene Tamale ehɔ nyinaa y'abue Se nia wo nso betumi a nya adipa biara ewo yɛ adwumadeɛ mu Efiri se da biara enoɔ ma beberee wo hɔ a ɛseseɛ wo nya	We know that you are busy all week so we don't want banking to be a problem for you ADB opens on Saturdays from 9 am to 2pm in selected branches in Accra We are working in those branches We also provide this service in Adum Kumasi Techiman Berekum Swedru and Tamale Such that you can enjoy our services Because we have offers for you	
11	Chorus	ADB		
12	AVO2	ADB Agric and more		

Interplast PVC Pipes advert

Turn	Name	Speech	Translation
1	Atongo	Ei Hotman ei hehe Hotman ibi you bi dis	Pragmatic marker for excitement/surprise Hotman Hotman is that really you
2	Hotman	Atongo bi dat? Where you go dey	Atongo is that you Where have you been
3	Atongo	Hmm I go dey America and Europe small wey I attend Obama inauguration then I go supply water for Michael Jackson funeral	Hmm I have been in America and Europe for a while and I attended Obama's inauguration and then I went to supply water for Michael Jackson's funeral
4	Hotman	Eiii Atongo the diplomat bi that ooo I go fit trust you	Pragmatic marker for excitement that is Atongo the diplomat Can I believe you
5	Atongo	Ooh see I even get contract to lay pipes to Afghanistan Iraq Somalia Palestine	Look I even have a contract to lay pipes to Afghanistan Iraq Somalia Palestine
6	Hotman	Eiiii the great Atongo make I believe you	Pragmatic marker for excitement the great Atongo should I believe you
7	Atongo	Oooh yes you forget say I tell you say ibi only Interplast PVC and HDPE pipes wey i fit stand atomic bombs	Ooo have you forgotten I told you that only Interplast PVC and HDPE pipes can withstand atomic bombs
8	Hotman	Atongo my man	That is my friend Atongo

Turn	Name	Speech	Translation
9	Atongo	And see like everybody for America and Europe use Interplast pipes then my economy no go leave for excursion	If all the people in America and Europe had used Interplast pipes then their economy would not have left for an excursion
10	Hotman	Oh Atongo ibi recession i no bi excursion	Oh Atongo it is recession and not excursion
11	Atongo	Oh see if i no bi excursion like today i dey America tomorrow Germany wey CNN too dey follow am like dat	Oh if it is not excursion then how come today it is in America tomorrow it is in Germany and why is CNN monitoring its trend
12	Hotman	Atongo bi dat ooo International plumber with international pipes	That is Atongo the international plumber with international pipes
13	Atongo	((laughter both)) now we come prepare for South Africa World Cup me too I can't wait	((laughter)) now we are preparing for South Africa World Cup and I can't wait
14	AVO	((laughter))Interplast wherever you are we make sure water reaches you even space	

Unique Trust financial advert

Turn	Voice	Speech	My translation	Sound effects
1	Woman	Excuse me sir, I am looking for Easy Life. They say it's around here		Traffic noise - several cars horn beeping, accelerating
2	Young man	Aaah okay, follow this gutter eh to the down lane. Turn right and take the extreme left pass through the lungu lungu bi no a ewɔ hɔno and look out for the Ghana flag on some sign board eh. W'ahu, wo duru hɔ right there no you will see a lady selling roasted plantains bi wɔ hɔ no wo deɛ bisa no	Aaah okay, follow this gutter eh to the down lane. Turn right and take the extreme left pass through the series of detours and look out for the Ghana flag on some sign board eh. You see when you get there right there you will see a lady selling roasted plantains at that place just ask her.	
3	Woman	What! Errmm Young man is there another way?		
4	AVO	Save yourself the hustle. Do it the UT way with a loan in less than 48 hours. A loan today will make your business, education or family life such a haven. Call UT today on 021610300 or toll free 080048477. UT a loan in less than 48 hours. UT they say no, we say why not?		

MTN Pay-For-Me – English advert

Turn	Voice	Speech	Translation	Sound effects
		SFX		Phone rings
1	Osei	Hello good morning Uncle Ato		
2	Uncle Ato	Good morning		
3	Osei	Aaaah it's me Osei		
4	Uncle Ato	Ehe errr Osei what happened to you yesterday		
	Osei	Sorry about that Uncle my credit wasn't much that is why		
5	Uncle Ato	Oh Osei you could have just told me Adɛn na woantwa me collect	Why didn't you make a collect call to me	
		Why didn't you make a collect call to me	make a collect call to me	
		Eh Osei you could have made a collect call to me with errr MTN Pay-For-Me?		
6	Osei	Aaaaah okay okay okay		
7	Uncle Ato	Ehe so what are you calling me about What is it this time		
8	Osei	Errrm uncle then (giggle) then uncle can I call you collect now		

Turn	Voice	Speech	Translation	Sound effects
9	AVO1	<p>Now you can call dear ones anytime even with no balance on the MTN Pay-For-Me Service</p> <p>With MTN Pay-For-Me Service you make a call and the receiver pays</p> <p>To make a collect call dial 154 and then the recipients number or dial star 154 star recipients number hash with MTN Pay-For-Me the receiver pays only when they accept the collect call</p> <p>The MTN Pay-For-Me Service is first and only on MTN Ghana's most reliable voice and data network</p>		
10	AVO2	MTN Everywhere you go		

MTN Pay-for-me – Akan advert

Turn	Voice	Speech	Translation	Sound effects
		SFX		Phone rings
1	Uncle Ato	Hello	Hello	
2	Osei	Wɔfa ((slight stammer)) Ato me ma wo aha oo	Uncle Ato good afternoon	
3	Uncle Ato	Eeh	Eeh	
4	Osei	Me pa akyɛw ɛyɛ me Osei	Please this is Osei	
5	Uncle Ato	Ehee Osei na ɛnora ɛbaano sɛn	Yeah Osei what happened yesterday	
6	Osei	Wofa mesrɛwoaa wei deɛ fakɛ me na me credit no endɔɔso Eno ntia	Uncle please forgive me for this I didn't have enough credit That is why	
7	Uncle Ato	Ah Osei paa ɛna wo anka ankyerɛ me Aden na woantwa mi collect ɛwɔ sɛ nka wofrɛ me wɔ MTN Pay-for-me so	Ah Osei why didn't you tell me Why didn't you make collect call You should have called me with the MTN Pay-for-me	
8	Osei	Aaaah okay okay	<pragmatic marker indicating sudden remembrance >okay okay	
9	Uncle Ato	Charley bɔ me sentence meetie wo	Charley compose a sentence I am listening	

Turn	Voice	Speech	Translation	Sound effects
10	Osei	Eeeh wɔfa ((nervous giggle)) enti ((giggle)) wɔfa metumi atwa wo collect seisei aa Asem wei deɛ ɛwa kakra o wɔfa	Eeeh uncle (nervous giggle) then (giggle) uncle can I call you collect now This issue is a bit too long uncle	
11	AVO	Afei wobetumi afɛ w'adɔfo nyinaa se wonni credit mpo a ɛwɔ MTN Pay-for-me service so Sɛ wɔwɔ MTN Pay-for-me service so a sɛ wo yɛ call a ɔni kɔɔ a wofɛ no sɛ wɔgye wo call tumu a ɔno na obetua call noho ka Sɛ wopɛ sɛ woyɛ collect call a mia star one five four [154] star na fa oniaa number no ka ho na mia hash anaa mia one five four [154] na fa oniaa number no ka ho Sɛ wopɛ nkyɛɛkyɛɛmu biom wɔ pay for me ho a mia star one five four [154] hash MTN Pay-for-me service yi ne so nni baabiara na ɛwɔ MTN nkoa so Ghana kasafidie baako pɛ a yɛde yɛn ho to so a endi yɛn hwamɔ	You can now call all your loved ones even if you don't have credit through the MTN Pay-for-me service If you are on the MTN Pay- for-me service the recipient of the call pays for the cost of the call If you want to make a collect call, press star 154 star and add the number of the one you are calling then press hash or press 154 add the number of the one you are calling For further explanation on pay for me services press star 154 hash MTN Pay-for-me service can be found only on the MTN network Ghana's only/most reliable voice network	

MTN Video Calling – English Advert

Turn	Voice	Speech	Sound effects
1	Shop attendant	I think this is the perfect style for you	
2	Elsie	Are you sure Anyway let me try again Wait hold on a second Hello	Phone rings
3	Jane	Hello ei [exclamation of surprise] you Elsie whose room are you in?	
4	Elsie	Jane, no I am in a boutique's changing room Well what do you think of this dress?	
5	Jane	Where which dress	
6	Elsie	The one I am wearing	
7	Jane	Ok ok you move your phone around and let me see	
8	Elsie	The shop attendant thinks this is the dress for the dinner	
9	Jane	((laughter)) Girl, that's not a dress it's a nightgown You know what try the yellow dress it looks perfect for you Its more done, the seams are refined and its better than all the others	
10	Elsie	Ei fashion police are you sure	
11	Jane	Yeah! oh Elsie you paa [pragmatic marker] the yellow dress is the best of them all	

	Voice	Speech	Sound effects
12	AVO1	<p>Experience the widest coverage with the best connection with MTN Video Calling</p> <p>To make video calling select your MTN contact, select the video call option on your 3.5G enabled handset then make your call</p> <p>Your contact will receive the call and be prompted to accept the video call</p> <p>Video calling is powered by MTN ultra powerful 3.5G network</p>	
	AVO2	MTN everywhere you go	

Yammi Gari – Akan advert

Turn	Voice	Speech	Translation
1	Lead singer	Girl I am sorry lonely so lonely I am so lonely	
2	Male	Mese εnnε paa adeε a students yi εde ayεme wɔ campus hɔ	You should have seen the way the students treated me on the campus today
3	Female	Adεn Wo nɔkwa seseε wo kokaa brofo tii ye	Why Knowing you I am sure you made an error speaking English
4	Male	εdeε bεn, me kɔ kaa εdeεn brofo tiiye	What error did I make in English
5	Both	((Laughter))	
6	Male	Wɔɔmo se εnnε mmere yi a Yammi Gari Mix εna εwɔ so εna makɔsoa gari kuntaan asikyire bobɔ me bo εna medebrε Sekyere εwɔ dormitory hɔ	They wondered why I have brought such a load of gari and sugar for Sekyere in the dormitory when Yammi Gari Mix can be found in the market
7	Female	Woa woa na ye da wo fɔm tweee ((laughs))	Oh poor you and they were laughing at you ((laughs))
8	Male	Na studentsfɔɔ ne wɔɔmo huro yi yeεfrε me old-timer	And knowing these students and their teasing habits they called me an old-timer
9	Female	((laughs))	
10	Male	Asem yi biaa na meeka yi o	Oh this is exactly what I was talking about
12	Male	Yammi Gari Mix wɔato wɔn bo ase εna wɔakye ama n'abene paa hweehweehwam na wɔde asikyire afra preko	Yammi Gari Mix has been well prepared smells good And they have already added sugar, milk and groundnuts and packaged it

- milk wɔmo dada ɛna
groundnuts ansa na wa
package
- 13 Female Na kyerɛɛ Yammi Gari Mix no wo ɔɔye aa pɛ ayɛ ready for soaking
Actually when you buy Yammi Gari Mix it is already ready for soaking
- 14 Male ɛnye afei na wookɔ kyinkyini akɔ pɛ wei wei biaa
Students, wɔɔmo a woosua adwuma, ɛmmaa, mmarima, awofoɔ, nkwadaa, menka nya obiaa
Yammi gari mix wodi a ɛfa wo yam ahɔɔden wɔ mu
You don't have to search for the ingredients separately
Students apprentices women men parents children I won't exclude anyone
Yammi Gari Mix doesn't upset your stomach and it is nutritious
- 15 Female Aah ɛna korokorowa nso kama
And it is also in small packs
- 16 Male ɛtuo to a wotumi de hyɛ wo bɔɔmu gentle
In case of any emergency you can hide it in your pocket and look gentle
Wo ye a hwie gu wo cup mu aaaaa na w'asoak-u
You pour it in a cup [pragmatic marker intensifier] and soak it
Wo tumi koraa sa gu w'anum we bɔ nsuo gusu w'amen
You can also chew it and drink water afterward/thereafter and you will be satisfied
- 17 Female Yammi Gari Mix wo se ɛwɔ supermarkets ɛne filling stations
You said Yammi Gari Mix can be found in supermarkets and filling stations
- 18 Male Oh aane baabiara
Yes everywhere
Atufoɔ nfrɛ 021234703 ɛne 0242167739
Wholesalers/retailers should call 021234703 and 0242167739
- 19 Female Yammi Gari Mix
Ever ready for soakings

Chocho – Akan advert

Turn	Voice	Speech	Translation
1	Lead singer	Chocho aba oo obiara nto bie eduro papa nie	Chocho is here everyone ooo everyone buy one this is the best medicine
2	Chorus	Chocho aba oo obiara nto bie eduro papa nie	Chocho is here ooo everyone buy one this is the best medicine
3	Female client	Auntie seamstress eyaa twa me kaba no akyi ma no nkɔ fɔm paa	Auntie seamstress always extend the low cut at the back of my top/blouse
4	Seamstress	Ei na wo deɛ efiri dabɛn na wo twaa wo kaba na ɛkɔɔ fɔm	Ei since when did you start wearing low cut blouse to even have it extended
5	Female client	hwɛ afi yi deɛ mengyaegyae me ho ooo M'awaamu korɔ no nyinaa kɔ koraa	This year I am not going to relax about my style All the eczema on my back is gone
6	Seamstress	Ha W'awaamu korɔ no a na ayɛ koankorɔ no	What The eczema on your back that seem to be chronic
7	Female client	hwɛ hwɛ hwɛ hwɛ	Look look look look
8	Seamstress	Ei wei deɛ eyɛ me nwanwa. kyerɛsɛ wo wedɛɛ ahyɛda ayɛ kama ankasa	Ei this really surprises me. So your skin is in really good condition

- 9 Female client Wo hwe adee paa oo Chocho Beauty Soap ene Chocho Beauty Cream asiesie me ankasa You are really observant ooo Chocho Beauty Soap and Chocho Beauty Cream has really beautified me
- 10 Seamstress Eeh mate Chocho ho dawubɔ nanso m'anfa no asem Eeh I have heard the adverts about Chocho but I didn't take them seriously
- 11 Female client ene fa no asem ooo. Se eye korɔ, pimples, eyam, nan ntam aporɔporɔ, barima a wɔatwere n'abɔdwe ase a na nsoa ate agu hɔ, wode Chocho Beauty Soap dware anaa so wode fefa mu na wode Chocho Beauty Cream srasra a etu ase koraa Then you have to take it seriously. Whether it is eczema, pimples, ring worm, foot rot, shaving bumps, when you bath with Chocho Beauty Soap or smear it on the skin and then apply Chocho Beauty Cream, it clears it all up.
- 12 Seamstress Chocho soap ne Chocho cream Chocho soap and Chocho cream
- 13 Female client Saa Drugstore ene pharmacy shop nyinaa mu wobenya bi. Wope dodɔ mpo a fre 0244727348 ene 0244528736 Chocho Yes You can get some from all drugstores and pharmacy shops. Even if it is for wholesale call 0244727348 and 0244528736 Chocho
- 14 Seamstress eye wedee yie ankasa It treats your skin really well
- 15 Lead singer Srasra Chocho soap ene Apply Chocho soap and Chocho cream

		Chocho cream dabiaa	everyday
16	Chorus	Chocho soap ene Chocho nkuu na me use-u	Chocho soap and Chocho cream is what I use
17	Lead singer	Dware Chocho soap menua na srasra Chocho cream dabiaa na eyε wae	My brother/sister bath with Chocho soap and Chocho cream every day for it is good
18	Chorus	Chocho soap ene Chocho nkuu na me use-i	Chocho soap and Chocho cream is what I use